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A HISTORY OF BRITISH AND AMERICAN ETCHING

A HISTORY OF BRITISH AND AMERICAN ETCHING

By JAMES LAVER

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PREFACE

THE literature of etching is already so vast—how vast the author himself did not realise until he commenced to draw up the bibliographies to be found at the end of this volume—that some apology is needed for adding to it. It is less than three years since Mr. Sparrow brought out his *British Etching from Barlow to Seymour Haden*, and in the same year appeared Mr. Weitenkampf's important work on *American Graphic Art*. Mr. Lumsden's *The Art of Etching* appeared in 1925, and three years earlier Mr. Robins' *Etching Craft*; while for those who wish for one masterly survey of the whole field of engraved work there is always Mr. Hind's monumental *History of Engraving and Etching*. Further back loom the, by now, patriarchal figures of Hamerton in England and Koehler in America. Has not the whole subject been treated a dozen times?

Certain considerations may be urged in mitigation of the present writer's foolhardiness. Hamerton and Koehler, coming as they did at the beginning of the movement, are now out-of-date; Mr. Sparrow confessedly stops his account at Haden, and neither Mr. Hind nor Mr. Lumsden deal at all fully with modern etchers. Mr. Weitenkampf treats of modern Americans, but modern British etching, and the history of etching itself, are outside the scope of his book.

It was felt that there was a place for a volume in which might be traced the evolution of etching in England from its beginnings, the story of its development carried down to the present day, and the many common characteristics of the British and American Schools emphasised. Enthusiasm for etching, both in England and the United States, seems to be greater to-day than it has ever been, and so many new etchers are constantly coming forward that some general survey of contemporaries can hardly fail to be of interest, and is indeed necessary for the intelligent collector.

The main complaint against a book like the present one will almost inevitably be that of lack of proportion—a charge difficult to rebut, and even more difficult not to deserve. The field of modern etching is so vast that it is impossible to have studied all etchers with equal care. The author's preferences cannot fail to sway, or even distort, his judgment; and unfortunately, not his preferences only, but familiarity with a certain work, or the lack of it, or the precise period in his life as a critic when he became acquainted with any given etching, all make his task more difficult.

PREFACE

It is impossible to apply the same standards throughout. The foibles of an important artist, for instance, may be treated with some severity, but he remains a much bigger man than a host of other etchers to whom every encouragement is given to continue.

Then again, the most assiduous frequenting of London exhibitions will hardly make one as familiar with American etching as would a few years' residence in New York or Chicago. It was indeed partly in the hope of increasing British appreciation of American work that the task was undertaken, and perhaps for the sake of that good intention much may be forgiven.

The drawing up of a satisfactory list of plates for a volume like this presents insoluble difficulties. In the first place, the historical side of the work must not be forgotten, and that involves the old question of the balance of æsthetic value against historical interest. Among the modern plates it is obviously desirable to give fair treatment to the British and to the Americans, and in doing so to be just, so far as possible, to the various schools. Then the younger men must be represented, and their promise weighed against the positive achievement of their elders. Nor must the growing body of women etchers be forgotten. There must, of necessity, be many omissions.

There are no doubt many omissions from the text also, and for these I would offer my sincerest apologies both to the public and to the artists whose work I have unwittingly ignored.

It remains for me to thank all those, on both sides of the Atlantic, who have given me their generous assistance, in particular Mr. Martin Hardie, Mr. Campbell Dodgson, Mr. Malcolm C. Salaman, Mr. Randall Davies, Mr. Harold Wright, Mr. James Connell, Mr. Dickins, Mr. E. Weyhe, Mr. Ralph M. Pearson, Mr. William M. Ivins, Jun., Mr. David Keppel, Mr. Alfred Barr, Mrs. Bertha Jaques, and all those artists and publishers whose permission to reproduce prints has been so freely accorded. Especial thanks are due to Mr. Hardie and to Miss K. Sproule for their kindness in reading the proofs.

J.L.

Victoria and Albert Museum,
South Kensington.
April, 1929.

LIST OF THE PLATES

Where not otherwise stated the illustrations are reproduced from originals in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.

I. WILLIAM HOGARTH

The Laughing Audience. Size of original etching $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

II. ALEXANDER COZENS

Landscape. Size of original etching $6\frac{1}{8}$ by 10 ins.

III. PAUL SANDBY

Landscape. Size of original etching $9\frac{5}{16}$ by $7\frac{3}{8}$ ins.

IV. JOHN CLERK OF ELDIN

Durham. Reproduced from the original etching ($7\frac{3}{4}$ by 12 ins.) in the possession of Messrs. P. & D. Colnaghi & Co.

V. THOMAS ROWLANDSON

Cottage at the foot of Router Mountain, Cornwall.

Size of original etching 7 by $9\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

VI. J. M. W. TURNER

The Little Devil's Bridge. Size of original etching $8\frac{3}{16}$ by $11\frac{7}{16}$ ins.

VII. THOMAS GIRTIN

The Pantheon from the Arsenal, Paris.

Size of original soft-ground etching $8\frac{7}{8}$ by $12\frac{3}{16}$ ins.

VIII. WILLIAM TURNER ("Turner of Oxford")

Oxford Castle. Size of original etching $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

IX. RICHARD PARKES BONINGTON

Bologna. Size of original etching $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{5}{16}$ ins.

X. JOHN CROME

Near Hingham. Size of original etching $6\frac{7}{8}$ by $8\frac{13}{16}$ ins.

XI. JOHN SELL COTMAN

Trees in Duncombe Park, Yorkshire. Size of original etching $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

XII. JOSEPH STANNARD

Hay Barges. Size of original etching $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{3}{16}$ ins.

XIII. SAMUEL PROUT

Botisfleming. Size of original soft-ground etching $8\frac{3}{16}$ by $12\frac{1}{8}$ ins.

XIV. JOHN CONSTABLE

Milford Bridge. Size of original etching $5\frac{1}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

XV. ANDREW GEDDES

The Field of Bannockburn, 1st state. Size of original etching $4\frac{3}{4}$ by $6\frac{9}{16}$ ins.

XVI. REV. E. T. DANIELL

Landscape. Size of original etching $5\frac{1}{2}$ by 8 ins.

xvii. WILLIAM DYCE

Girl looking through window.

(Printed by Mr. Muirhead Bone from the plate in the possession of the Artist's daughter, Miss Isabella C. Dyce.) Size of original etching $4\frac{3}{4}$ by $3\frac{3}{8}$ ins.

xviii. HENRY ALKEN

Study of Racehorses. Size of original soft-ground etching $5\frac{1}{8}$ by $8\frac{1}{8}$ ins.

xix. CHARLES S. KEENE

Coast Scene, Devon. Size of original etching 4 by 7 ins.

xx. SIR JOHN E. MILLAIS

Size of original etching $6\frac{1}{8}$ by $4\frac{1}{8}$ ins.

xxi. SAMUEL PALMER.

The Bellman. Size of original etching $7\frac{9}{16}$ by $9\frac{1}{8}$ ins.

xxii. SIR FRANCIS SEYMOUR HADEN

Kilgaren Castle. Size of original etching $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{7}{8}$ ins.

xxiii. J. A. M. WHISTLER

The Lime Burner, 1st state. Size of original etching $9\frac{7}{8}$ by 7 ins.

xxiv. J. A. M. WHISTLER

Little Venice. Reproduced from the original etching ($7\frac{1}{4}$ by $10\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) in the possession of Messrs. P. and D. Colnaghi & Co.

xxv. ALPHONSE LEGROS

Le Coup de Vent. Size of original etching $6\frac{1}{8}$ by $4\frac{1}{8}$ ins.

xxvi. WILLIAM STRANG

Portrait of Frederick Goulding. Size of original drypoint $15\frac{3}{4}$ by $11\frac{3}{8}$ ins.

xxvii. SIR CHARLES HOLROYD

A Yew Tree on Glaramara. Size of original etching 14 by $8\frac{1}{8}$ ins.

xxviii. SIR FRANK SHORT

The Street, Whitstable. Size of original etching $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $13\frac{5}{8}$ ins.

xxix. WALTER RICHARD SICKERT

"That Old-Fashioned Mother of Mine". Reproduced from the original etching ($7\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{7}{8}$ ins.) in the possession of Messrs. Ernest Brown & Phillips.

xxx. SIR D. Y. CAMERON

Thermae of Caracalla. Reproduced from the original etching ($10\frac{7}{8}$ by $16\frac{3}{4}$ ins.) in the possession of Messrs. J. Connell & Sons.

xxxi. FRANK BRANGWYN

The Old Bridge at Pavia. Reproduced from the original drypoint ($13\frac{7}{8}$ by $21\frac{7}{8}$ ins.) in the possession of the Fine Art Society.

xxxii. MUIRHEAD BONE

Strandvagen, Stockholm. Reproduced from the original drypoint ($7\frac{3}{4}$ by $9\frac{5}{8}$ ins.) in the possession of Messrs. P. & D. Colnaghi & Co.

xxxiii. HENRY RUSHBURY

St. Victor, Marseilles. Reproduced from the original drypoint ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{3}{4}$ ins.) in the possession of the Publishers, Messrs. J. Connell & Sons.

xxxiv. MALCOLM OSBORNE

The Problem. Size of original etching $11\frac{3}{8}$ by $10\frac{7}{16}$ ins.

xxxv. MARTIN HARDIE

The Day's Work Done, Martigues. Size of original drypoint $6\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{16}$ ins.

xxxvi. JAMES McBEY

Barcarolle. Size of original etching $14\frac{7}{8}$ by $8\frac{3}{8}$ ins.

xxxvii. E. S. LUMSDEN

The Scales. Reproduced from the original etching ($14\frac{1}{4}$ by $9\frac{1}{4}$ ins.) in the possession of the Publishers, Messrs. P. and D. Colnaghi & Co.

xxxviii. G. L. BROCKHURST

The Black Silk Dress. Reproduced from the original etching ($8\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$ ins.) in the possession of Messrs. P. and D. Colnaghi & Co.

xxxix. F. L. GRIGGS

The Minster, 1st state.

Reproduced by special permission of the Artist, from the original etching ($8\frac{1}{4}$ by 12 ins.) in the possession of Messrs. P. & D. Colnaghi & Co.

xl. WILLIAM LEE HANKEY

La Vieille. Reproduced from the original drypoint ($8\frac{3}{10}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) in the possession of the Publishers, Messrs. Alexander, Reid and Lefèvre.

xli. WILLIAM WALCOT

St. Peter's, Rome. Reproduced from the original etching ($23\frac{7}{8}$ by $29\frac{7}{8}$ ins.) in the possession of the Publishers, the Fine Art Society.

xlii. W. P. ROBINS

Two Willows. Reproduced from the original etching in the possession of the Publishers, the Fine Art Society.

xliii. STANLEY ANDERSON

Segovia. Reproduced from the original drypoint ($12\frac{1}{2}$ by $10\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) in the possession of the Publishers, Messrs. P. and D. Colnaghi & Co.

xliv. JOB NIXON

Italian Hill Town. Reproduced from the original drypoint (16 by 14 ins.) in the possession of the Publishers, Messrs. P. and D. Colnaghi & Co.

xlv. GEORGE BELCHER

Mrs. Harris of Jollop Yard. Size of original etching $11\frac{1}{8}$ by $7\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

xlvi. P. F. GETHIN

Travelling Circus, Sligo. Copyright. Reproduced from the original etching ($6\frac{1}{2}$ by 8 ins.) by permission of F. V. Burridge, Esq.

XLVII. FRANCIS UNWIN

Monte della Disgrazia.

Reproduced from the original etching by permission of Miss Unwin.

XLVIII. EDMUND BLAMPIED

The Tumble. Reproduced from the original drypoint ($7\frac{3}{4}$ by $11\frac{3}{4}$ ins.) in the possession of the Publishers, Messrs. Alexander, Reid and Lefèvre.

XLIX. ARTHUR BRISCOE

Clewlines and Buntlines. Reproduced from the original etching in the possession of the Publishers, Messrs. H. C. Dickins.

L. C. R. W. NEVINSON

On Brooklyn Bridge. Reproduced from the original etching ($9\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{7}{8}$ ins.) in the possession of the Publishers, Messrs. Alexander, Reid and Lefèvre.

LI. LAURA KNIGHT

Head of a Girl. Reproduced from the original drypoint ($9\frac{7}{8}$ by $7\frac{7}{8}$ ins.) in the possession of the Publishers, Messrs. Ernest Brown & Phillips.

LII. SYLVIA GOSSE

The Chateau, Dieppe. Reproduced from the original etching ($7\frac{1}{4}$ by 9 ins.) in the possession of the Publishers, Messrs. P. and D. Colnaghi & Co.

LIII. EDNA CLARKE HALL

Dressing the Hair. Reproduced from the original etching ($9\frac{3}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$ ins.) in the possession of the Redfern Gallery.

LIV. WENDELA BOREEL

Old Lady in a Bonnet. Reproduced from the original etching ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) in the possession of the Redfern Gallery.

LV. OROVIDA

Curves. Reproduced from the original etching (8 by 6 ins.) in the possession of the Publishers, the Redfern Gallery.

LVI. KENNETH HOLMES

Ponte Aventino, Rome. Reproduced from the original drypoint ($9\frac{1}{2}$ by $15\frac{1}{8}$ ins.) in the possession of the Publishers, Messrs. J. Connell & Sons.

LVII. DONALD SHAW MACLAUGHLAN

The Grimsel. Reproduced from the original etching ($12\frac{1}{4}$ by $14\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) in the possession of the Publishers, the Fine Art Society.

LVIII. LIONEL LINDSAY

The Little Square, Segovia. Reproduced from the original etching ($8\frac{7}{8}$ by $7\frac{7}{8}$ ins.) in the possession of the Publishers, Messrs. P. and D. Colnaghi & Co.

LIX. J. H. AMSHEWITZ

The Fortune Teller. Reproduced from the original drypoint ($8\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{7}{8}$ ins.) in the possession of the Artist.

LX. A. HUGH FISHER

Portrait of a Philosopher.

Reproduced from the original etching ($9\frac{11}{16}$ by $6\frac{3}{4}$ ins.) in the possession of the Author.

LXI. ROBERT F. BLUM

Venetian Bead Stringers.

Reproduced from the original etching ($12\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{3}{16}$ ins.) in the British Museum.

LXII. OTTO H. BACHER

Venice. Reproduced from the original etching (10 by 7 ins.) in the British Museum.

LXIII. JOSEPH PENNELL

Le Puy. Reproduced, by permission of Mrs. Pennell, from the original etching in the possession of Messrs. Frederick Keppel & Co.

LXIV. CHILDE HASSAM

Garden of the Luxembourg. Reproduced from the original etching (11 by 9 ins.) in the possession of Messrs. Ernest Brown & Phillips.

LXV. SAMUEL CHAMBERLAIN

Perugia. Reproduced from the original drypoint ($12\frac{1}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) in the possession of Messrs. R. Dunthorne & Son.

LXVI. JOHN TAYLOR ARMS

Rodez. Reproduced from the original etching ($11\frac{7}{8}$ by $4\frac{19}{16}$ ins.) in the possession of A. Hugh Fisher, Esq.

LXVII. TROY KINNEY

Moonlight. Reproduced from the original drypoint ($7\frac{5}{8}$ by $11\frac{1}{8}$ ins.) in the possession of the Publishers, Messrs. Arthur Greateorex.

LXVIII. LOUIS C. ROSENBERG

Aya Sophia, No. 2. Reproduced from the original etching in the possession of the Publishers, Messrs. H. C. Dickins.

LXIX. FRANK W. BENSON

Rippling Water. Reproduced from the original etching ($9\frac{3}{4}$ by $7\frac{7}{8}$ ins.) in the possession of the Publishers, Messrs. H. C. Dickins.

LXX. GEORGE ELBERT BURR

In a Palm Canyon, California.

Reproduced from the original drypoint ($6\frac{7}{8}$ by 5 ins.) in the British Museum.

LXXI. WALTER TITTLE

Portrait of Aristide Briand.

Reproduced from the original drypoint ($11\frac{7}{8}$ by $9\frac{3}{4}$ ins.) in the British Museum.

LXXII. KERR EBY

An Artillery Train. Reproduced from the original etching (5 by $13\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) in the possession of the Publishers, Messrs. P. and D. Colnaghi & Co.

LXXIII. BERTHA E. JAQUES

The Tangle, Chioggia.

Reproduced from the original etching ($8\frac{1}{8}$ by $5\frac{1}{8}$ ins.) in the possession of the Artist.

LXXIV. EDWARD HOPPER

Night in the Park.

Reproduced from the original etching ($8\frac{1}{4}$ by $7\frac{7}{8}$ ins.) in the British Museum.

LXXV. MATHILDE DE CORDOBA

La Robe Rose. Reproduced from the original drypoint (12 by 9 ins.) in the possession of Messrs. H. C. Dickins.

LXXVI. RALPH M. PEARSON

Cypress Grove, Monterey.

Reproduced from the original etching in the possession of the Artist.

LXXVII. B. J. O. NORDFELT

Man from Arrayo Hondo.

Reproduced from the original etching in the possession of the Artist.

LXXVIII. HERMAN A. WEBSTER

Soir de Fête, Italie.

Reproduced from the original etching ($6\frac{3}{16}$ by $7\frac{9}{16}$ ins.) in the possession of the Artist.

LXXIX. LESTER G. HORNBY

Le Ciel Pluvieux, Soilly, Marne. Size of original etching $7\frac{1}{8}$ by $9\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

LXXX. GEORGE O. ("POP") HART

Awaiting the Boat's Return. Size of original drypoint (5 by $6\frac{7}{8}$ ins.).

LXXXI. CADWALLADER WASHBURN

Shimmering Light. Reproduced from the original drypoint (8 by 8 ins.) in the possession of Messrs. Alexander, Reid and Lefèvre.

LXXXII. A. W. HEINTZELMAN

La Fille du Marbrier. Reproduced from the original drypoint ($8\frac{3}{4}$ by $11\frac{3}{4}$ ins.) in the possession of the Publishers, Messrs. P. & D. Colnaghi & Co.

LXXXIII. PEGGY BACON

The Patroness.

Reproduced from the original drypoint (10 by $7\frac{1}{8}$ ins.) in the possession of the Artist.

LXXXIV. CHARLES H. WOODBURY

Easterly Coming. Reproduced from the original etching ($8\frac{3}{4}$ by $11\frac{3}{4}$ ins.) in the possession of Messrs. Frederick Keppel & Co.

CHAPTER I

The Etching Tradition and the Beginnings in England

ETCHING, like the kindred art of engraving, sprang from humble origins; the latter from the nielli of the goldsmiths, the former from the desire of armourers to pattern steel. So strong was the influence of the traditional use of etching that the earliest etchers never thought of using for their work the copper plates of their engraving contemporaries, but contented themselves with iron. Dürer's famous "Cannon" was etched on iron, although the disadvantages of that metal—its coarseness of grain, its unevenness in biting, its tendency to rust—must have been immediately obvious. Etching on copper is said to have been invented by Parmigiano. Yet, so far as we know, the etchings of Beham, Lautensack, and Hirschvogel were all upon iron; at least, the style of these masters suggests that their work, which is somewhat like open pen drawing, was done on rather rough plates. The finely etched plates of Altdorfer suggest, on the other hand, that he may have worked on copper, and copper has remained, ever since, the chosen metal of etchers, except of those like Haden and Brangwyn, who occasionally obtain a broader effect by the use of zinc.

It is interesting to note in the work of these early etchers the preoccupation with landscape which has been typical of the main etching tradition ever since. Hirschvogel (1503-1553) and Lautensack (1524-1563) were both frank etchers of landscape, but their taste (in spite of Hirschvogel's two hundred and fifty plates) seems to have antedated that of the rest of Europe by nearly a century. At the end of the sixteenth century there was, in general, little taste for pure landscape even among cultured patrons of art; a hundred years later that taste was almost universal, owing, chiefly, to the triumphs of the Dutch School of Painting.

It was natural enough that the lead in this movement should be taken by Holland. The republican spirit, which had shaken off the tyranny of Spain, was hostile to the painting of kings and nobles, and the Protestant sentiment of the Low Countries destroyed the market for pictures of saints. The Dutch painters turned to the familiar things around them, interiors, the streets of their towns, and in particular, to the portraiture of the everyday landscape of Holland. Etch-

ing in Holland was largely the work of painters who jotted down on the copper the subjects they were accustomed to treat with the brush. Altdorfer, Hirschvogel and the rest of the Germans seem to have had little direct influence on the style of the Dutchmen, which sprang naturally from their common practice and subject-matter.

In a study confined to British Etching it is not necessary to linger over the Dutch etchers of the seventeenth century, except in so far as they may be said to have contributed some permanent element to the general stream of tradition. Lucas van Uden, Allardt van Everdingen, Jacob van Ruisdael, Antoni Waterloo, Jan Hackaert were all etchers who (as etchers) specialised in some aspect of Dutch, or imaginary, landscape. The influences of all of them, so to say, have been latent in etching ever since, to come to the surface when occasion served. A worker like Ruisdael, for example, was later to influence profoundly the etchings of "Old" Crome. But the figure of Rembrandt so completely overshadows that of any other etcher, that his contemporaries are mentioned chiefly, not because their influence can be compared with his, but because his pre-eminence is apt to make us forget the very existence of other workers in the same field.

The genius of Rembrandt has made him, for all time, the central figure in any history of etching. To such an extent has he directed the vision of subsequent etchers that his very eccentricities have been erected by the orthodox into canons of art. This was not so while he lived. His brief popularity turned to neglect. Neither in painting nor etching was the old Rembrandt accepted as a model even by his own countrymen. His etching had little, if any, immediate influence even upon such a faithful friend as the etcher Robert Roghman. It was not until the eighteenth century that Rembrandt began to come into his own, and not until the so-called revival of etching, in the middle of the nineteenth, that his superlative merits were fully recognised.

At first glance it would seem that England at the end of the seventeenth century should have been peculiarly susceptible to influences coming from Holland. The two countries were in many ways similar; they both had a tradition of Protestantism bound up with national independence, yet they had both reacted

from the extreme position of the earlier reformers. The ideas of Arminius had provoked an enduring echo in England. The habits of the two peoples, their sea-going enterprise, and their home life were very similar; they had a common share in the growth of scientific opinion.

The modern visitor to Holland cannot but be struck by the picture of an earlier England which the towns seem to present. This, he may well be moved to say, is what England must have been like before the Industrial Revolution. Gifted with any historical imagination he may meet, in the yet untouched streets of Amsterdam or Leyden, the not incongruous figures of a host of English exiles: Danby, Hyde, Shaftesbury, or even Charles himself. Did Charles bring no Dutch prints and pictures with him when he embarked at Scheveningen? Was not this a most easy channel by which the influence of Rembrandt might have been brought to England?

A consideration of a few dates must, however, mitigate any surprise which might be felt that this was not so. By 1660 the great age of Dutch painting was over, and Rembrandt's work was in eclipse. The leadership in art had passed from Holland to France, and Louis XIV had no greater admirer than Charles, who was only prevented from emulating him in every particular by his natural indolence and good nature. There were Dutch wars also, after the Restoration as well as before, and harmony between the two countries was not fully restored until the accession of William III. By this time Dutch art was at a low ebb and Dutch etching almost non-existent.

However, Rembrandt etchings were in existence, ready to exercise their power when the time came, and there were other Dutch etchers only less important: Paul Potter, whose etchings of cattle were to have a permanent influence, and the artist called Zeeman who worked, not only in Amsterdam but in Berlin, London and Paris, and etched, among others, a plate of the Louvre which was to inspire the whole œuvre of Meryon. The contributions also of Ostade and Bega must not be forgotten.

Outside Holland other influences were at work, the most important being that of Jacques Callot. This interesting man was born at Nancy in 1592, and after a full life spent among fantastic beggars and even more fantastic courts,

died in 1635 leaving behind him a life's work of over 1400 plates. We should not now praise him in the words of Evelyn, who described him as "this inimitable Master, whose point and manner of etching was nothing inferior, nay sometimes even exceeded the most skilful Burine." Callot is important in the history of etching, not only for his abiding influence (which can be traced in the work of the satirical etchers in England) but because of his discovery that all the lines of an etched plate need not be bitten to the same depth, but that effects of distance and aerial perspective could be obtained by leaving the lines of the foreground exposed to the acid for a longer period than those of the background. This can be managed by the use of a stopping-out varnish, and is the foundation of the almost universal modern practice.

His immediate influence was less than might have been expected. He certainly helped to bring the art into favour, but the only artist who imitated his treatment and subject matter was Stefano della Bella, who, born nearly twenty years later than Callot, had studied under the same master Cantà Gallina. Even della Bella soon abandoned the Callottesque for a style of his own, and although Callot's reputation remained considerable, his direct influence was, for the time, eclipsed. In 1627, however, he met, at Nancy, Claude Lorrain, and it seems probable that he initiated him into the secrets of etching,* for in the following year, Claude, who had gone to Italy, etched his first plates. If Callot really instructed Claude in the use of the acid, the latter does not seem to have profited much from his instruction, for there is no trace in the pupil's biting of the delicacy of his master's work. In the technique of etching, Claude remained amateurish to the end, but his work is of great importance in the history of the art because of its freedom of handling, and its sense of atmosphere. His plates had a great influence not only on such direct followers as Jan Both, but on the whole of what might be called the non-Rembrandt school of Dutch etchers, and, of course, upon all subsequent developments of "Arcadian" landscape.

England was singularly slow in the development of native talent in the pictorial arts. The fine tradition of its early painting, of its illuminated manuscripts, of its church furniture generally, seemed to have vanished completely, so

*See *Dutch Etchers of the Seventeenth Century*, by L. Binyon, 1895, p.18.

completely that, throughout the sixteenth century, artists of any note in England were invariably foreigners. As Horace Walpole remarks, until the arrival of Hollar, the art of engraving in England was confined to portraits; and George Vertue, whose manuscript Walpole edited, "thought what was produced here before the reign of king James, of so little consequence, that, . . . he professedly dates his account from the year 1600."

The influence of Charles I, whose excellent taste and enthusiasm for the arts might have done so much to encourage both painting and engraving in England, came to an end in the Great Rebellion. Although Cromwell himself was far from being a fanatical iconoclast, the state of the country was not such as either to invite the foreigner, or encourage the native artist. The trickle of foreigners, however, never completely ceased, for though England had its troubles, the Continent had its wars and persecutions too, and the struggle of the Dutch with Spain, the Thirty Years War in Germany, and later the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, all resulted in the emigration of artists and workmen to England. As early as 1568 Marcus Gheraerts (Mark Gerrard), the elder, had settled in England while the Duke of Alva was ravaging the Low Countries. In 1576 he etched a plate of the Procession of the Knights of the Order of the Garter, and also a bird's-eye plan of Bruges, which is a forerunner of Hollar's views of London.

Wenceslaus Hollar himself is a most important figure in the history of British etching, as he spent the greater part of his long life in England. Far less brilliant than Callot, he was nevertheless a truer etcher, keeping much more strictly to the use of the bitten line, and not striving, as Callot did, to add emphasis by the use of the burin. He had studied under Matthaus Merian the elder in Frankfurt, and helped to continue the Italian-Flemish tradition of landscape etching which Merian himself had learned from Paul Bril and the Brueghel Family. He was a Bohemian, born at Prague in 1607. He was at first intended for a lawyer, but his love of art asserted itself and he left his native city to reside at Frankfort, Cologne and Antwerp. His engraving of Prague so excited the admiration of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, when he saw it at Cologne in 1635, that he sought Hollar out and brought him to England in his train. Four or five years later he was appointed drawing-master to the future Charles II, and

his fortunes must have seemed to him assured. The Civil War ruined his hopes; the Earl of Arundel left England for Holland; Hollar became a Royalist soldier and was made prisoner at Basing House. He escaped to Antwerp, and was allowed to return to England in 1652. The Restoration gave him the official position of "His Majestie's Designer," but Charles never had very much money to spare, and the Plague and the Great Fire threw the engraver once more into poverty. For the rest of his life he was a print-seller's drudge, and in spite of his great talent and immense perseverance, he died destitute in 1677.

Hollar's misfortunes seem to have been due more to his unworldly disposition than to the unquiet times. Other engravers were more prosperous, and by combining business with the practice of their art, were able to rise to some degree of affluence. In 1654 Hollar was working in the house of William Faithorne, near Temple Bar, and seems to have been employed by him by the hour at very small pay. He also worked for Peter Stent and John Overton, but of all these Faithorne is much the most important, for, besides being a print-seller, he was the most famous line-engraver of his time, and he translated Bosse's book on engraving and etching, and thus issued the first formal treatise on the subject to appear in England.

William Faithorne, the elder (1616-1691), is not of sufficient importance as an etcher to warrant his inclusion in the present account, but the influence of his book was so considerable, and his own personal relationships with engravers and etchers so important as to make it necessary, for a proper understanding of the art of his time, to consider him at some length. He was with Hollar at the siege of Basing House, and, being captured, and refusing to take the oath to Oliver Cromwell, he was banished from the country. In Paris he made the acquaintance of the great collector Michel de Marolles, Abbé de Villeloin. The Abbé had amassed an immense number of engravings, and as it was not until 1666 that Colbert persuaded Louis XIV to purchase it when Faithorne visited him, he must have had ample opportunities for study.* Under the Abbé's

*For an account of the Abbé's first and second collections see "A Prince of Print-Collectors: Michel de Marolles, Abbé de Villeloin (1600-1681)," by Louis R. Metcalfe. *Print Collector's Quarterly* II (1912), p. 317.

patronage he became acquainted with Nanteuil and other French engravers, and it is important for us to consider the condition of French etching at this time, because it is the French, and not the Dutch, who were to have most influence upon the art in England, until the invention of mezzotint drove etching underground once more.

Just as etching seems the most natural expression of Holland's intimate democracy, so the burin seems the most natural tool for those engravers who were employed in France to dignify the features of the monarch, and impose a *style noble* on every visible aspect of life. Nanteuil pushed line-engraving to a pitch of perfection which has rarely been equalled before or since. The influence of Callot had introduced etching into France and had made it fashionable. Its use was popularised by Abraham Bosse and Israel Silvestre, and the former not only wrote a book describing etching processes, but made considerable improvements in presses and varnishes.

His book—*Traité des manières de graver*—was published in 1645, shortly before Faithorne's arrival in Paris, and is an admirable account of the actual processes of etching and engraving. The work is divided into four parts, the first dealing with ordinary etching—composition of the hard ground, choosing the copper, drawing on the plate, sharpening the needle, etc.; the second with soft-ground etching; the third with line engraving; and the fourth with intaglio printing, including a description of the construction of the press, and of inking the plate and taking an impression.

But of the real nature of etching, as we have come to see it, he had little notion. In his Preface he says:

Il me semble que la principale intention que peuvent avoir ceux qui gravent ou veulent graver à l'eau-forte est de faire que leur ouvrage paraisse comme s'il était gravé au burin.

It is not, he goes on, that I do not esteem etched work which has not this neatness; on the contrary, for many reasons I think highly of a quantity of beautiful plates already etched and still being etched. But everyone is of my opinion that it is rather the invention, the beautiful contours, and the touch of those who

have made them, than the neatness of the engraving which causes them to be esteemed.

Bosse's book had a great success in France, and in 1652 it was translated into German.* Ten years later appeared versions in English and in Dutch, the former, as has been remarked, being the work of Faithorne.

Meanwhile John Evelyn, the diarist, had also become acquainted with Bosse's book, and had read a translation of part of it to the Royal Society. He had intended to include it in his own work on engraving, *Sculptura*, the first edition of which appeared in the same year as Faithorne's treatise. Finding, however, that Faithorne was at work on the same project, he omitted Bosse's chapter from his own work in order, as he says in his Advertisement, "that I might neither anticipate the World's expectation, nor the Workman's pains, to their prejudice." Nevertheless, perhaps by some misunderstanding, this part of Bosse's work was not included by Faithorne in his first edition, which contained only the first portion of the *Traité*. A second edition appeared in 1702 containing a translation of the whole work. The plates were engraved by Faithorne after those by Bosse.

The diaries of both Evelyn and Pepys are rich in material for the student of this period of engraving in England.† Of the two, Pepys is the more engaging, but the less important. At the Navy Office he was taken seriously enough, but in art he was the happy amateur. Engraving to Pepys was simply one of the many good things of life, those good things which ranged from part-singing to the caresses of "Deb," and all of which he savoured with such abiding gusto. We see him running to Faithorne's, at the sign of the Ship next to the Drake, on the site of the present Law Courts, buying some prints, bringing them home gleefully, and then, remembering one of those vows which he was always making, paying five shillings ruefully into his poor box, "hoping in God that I shall forfeit no more in that kind."

*Kunstbüchlein handelt von der Radier und Etzkunst. . . durch Abraham Bosse, ins Teutsche befördert durch Georg Andreas Bockler, Nurnberg, 1652.

†See Extracts from the Diaries of John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys relating to Engraving, with Notes by Howard C. Lewis, London, 1915.

Mrs. Pepys takes lessons in drawing from "one Browne," that is Alexander Browne, who published, in 1660, a work entitled *The Whole Art of Drawing, Painting, Limning and Etching . . . for the benefit of all Ingeneous Gentlemen and Artists*.

Engraving, indeed, was very much "in the air" at this period, a period which is perhaps not sufficiently realised as a time of great intellectual curiosity and cultural activity of all kinds. There was a reaction all over Europe against the religious dogmatism which had drenched the Continent in blood for a hundred years. It was a period of scepticism, of rationalist enquiry, of the first great triumphs of the scientific spirit; the age of Descartes and Locke, of Hobbes and Newton. Whether men were conscious of it or not, the religious background had faded from their lives, and in its place they sought for a scientific background. For the certitudes of dogma they tried to substitute the certainties of science, and as they had not yet abandoned all attempt to arrange knowledge into one coherent system, they sought to investigate every department of human life by the methods of scientific research. Physics, and not theology, had come to seem the key to the riddle of the Universe. There was indeed "a designe of founding a Colledge for the promoting of Physico-Mathematicall Experimentall Learning," and the gathering of philosophers, which Boyle had referred to during the Civil War as the "Invisible College," had by 1662 crystallised into the Royal Society. A year before, Evelyn had given the gatherings that name as a kind of courtesy title, and it is his connection with the Society and all that it stood for that is of interest here.

Pepys' opinion of Evelyn we know from an entry in his diary, for he visited him on Sunday, 5th November, 1665, at Deptford, and was shown "most excellent painting in little; in distemper, Indian incke, water colours, graveing and above all, the whole secret of mezzo-tinto. . . . In fine (concludes Pepys) a most excellent person he is, and must be allowed a little for a little conceitedness; but he may well be so being a man so much above others."* Evelyn's

*The reason why Evelyn was at Deptford is so entirely to his credit that it should not pass without notice. In 1664, he was a commissioner for the care of the sick and wounded in the war with the Dutch, and he stayed at Deptford when all his colleagues had fled from the

opinion of Pepys we do not know, for the former moved in a higher sphere of thought than that of gossip and personal reminiscence. His solemnity and portentousness are sometimes as irritating to the modern reader as they were to Pepys, but it was these very qualities which gave him so much weight with most of his contemporaries.

John Evelyn was the born dilettante. Brought up by an indulgent grandmother, he had studied the law, had been admitted to Balliol and left without a degree. In the Civil War, when it became plain that he and his brothers were sacrificing their fortune without any benefit to the king, he desisted from the struggle, and settled down to cultivate his garden. In 1643 he obtained permission to go abroad, and visited Paris, Naples, Rome, Venice and Padua. Holland and Flanders he had seen two years before. His interest in engraving was shown by his etching five plates, from his own drawings of the scenery between Rome and Naples.

These etchings are of considerable interest, and give Evelyn a further claim to a place in the history of the art in Britain. At first they were supposed to be by an engraver named Hoare after Evelyn's drawings, but "a very ingenious and inquisitive gentleman (Mr. Nathaniel Hillier)" convinced Horace Walpole that they were by Evelyn's own hand.* The plates were printed merely for presentation to Evelyn's friends, and are rare. A set, however, is in the British Museum, and another in the possession of Mr. Howard C. Levis. They are crude in biting and amateurish in handling, although the *View of Naples from Mount Vesuvius* is not without some feeling for design. It is, however, hardly fair to criticise them as works of art, as Evelyn himself apparently looked upon them as no more than experiments in the process of etching.

Until the Restoration Evelyn occupied himself with his artistic and scientific pursuits, and as we have seen, with the formation of the Royal Society. At the

Plague. The money which he expended on this occasion he was still petitioning for in 1702. The man who, under such circumstances, could, as described by Pepys, compose and read little poems of his own, "though with too much gusto," at least knew the meaning of philosophic detachment.

*See *A Catalogue of Engravers &c.*, by Horace Walpole. London, 1782, p. 148.

first meeting after the return of Charles he was chosen a Fellow, and in the charter granted by the king, in 1662, he was nominated to the council. In the same year he brought out *Sculptura, or the History and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper*, and it is this work which makes Evelyn so important a figure. As Mr. C. F. Bell says:* “as an attempt to bring art criticism within the sphere of Natural Philosophy at a moment in the lifetime of Newton, Locke, and Hobbes, *Sculptura* takes a certain place in the history of English thought which the actual contents of the volume itself might scarcely appear to warrant.” Evelyn indeed was not likely to succeed in a task which still baffles the philosopher, and his book is important more as a reflection of the thought of his time than for any real addition to the Royal Society’s treasuries of knowledge. His appreciation of art, also, is vitiated by his delight in the *tromp l’œil*, and in etching he admired a graver-like neatness, although he had some feeling for Rembrandt. He refers to him as “the incomparable Reinbrand whose Etchings and gravings are of a particular spirit; especially the old woman, in the furr: The good Samaritane, the Angels appearing to the Shepherd; divers Landskips and heads to the life: St. Hierom, of which there is one very rarely graven with the Burine; but above all, his Ecce Homo; descent from the Cross in large; Philip and the Eunuch &c.” The passage shows that what he admired in the master was chiefly his dexterity in rendering textures, and the elaborateness of such a plate as the “Ecce Homo,” which, in modern opinion, is hardly to be considered Rembrandt at all. As we have seen, his attitude to Callot was very similar. It can hardly be denied that his book did the art of etching in England little good.

It is perhaps inevitable that the historian of the bitten line should regard Evelyn with a certain hostility, for it was he who choked at birth the school of etching which might have sprung from the example of Hollar. This he did by his “Ænigmatical” account of mezzotint, an account which, while it told the public nothing, stimulated the curiosity of engravers, and led to such a preoccupation in England with *la manière noire*, as to cause it to become famous on the Continent as *la manière anglaise*.

*Evelyn’s *Sculptura*, with the unpublished Second Part, Edited by C. F. Bell, Oxford, 1906.

The credit for the invention was, by Evelyn himself, and by many later writers, attributed to Prince Rupert, although it is now known to have been the discovery of Ludwig von Siegen. He communicated it to the Prince, whose interest in all the arts of engraving must have been well known to him.

It is hardly necessary here to explain a method of engraving which has been so fully dealt with by a host of writers. Evelyn's own "account" is obscure in the extreme, and earned the strictures of Walpole, who remarks, justly enough, that "they would be reckoned mountebanks in this age who should pretend to instruct without informing; and one cannot help wondering that so beneficent a nature as Mr. Evelyn's should juggle with mankind, when the inventor himself had consented that the new art should be made public." By Walpole's time mezzotint had become the typical product of the art of engraving in England, but its limitations had become apparent as well as its triumphs. "Indeed (Walpole goes on) curious as the discovery was, it did not produce all it seemed to promise; it has diversified prints, rather than improved them; . . . mezzotints still fall short of line engravings."

In this judgment Walpole will hardly, perhaps, be followed. Mezzotint was admirably adapted to the reproduction of the canvases of Reynolds and similar painters, and as its real rivalry was with the engraved portrait it need not have affected the history of etching. Had there been any real enthusiasm for engraved landscape in England at the end of the seventeenth century, etching would have come into its own, unaffected by the triumphs of mezzotint. But the British school of landscape painting was slow in developing, and so the example of Rembrandt remained unfruitful, except for a few amateurs. The eighteenth century however must be left to a later chapter, as there are a number of seventeenth century etchers to be considered.

There had been a certain amount of reproductive etching quite early in the century. Peter Oliver, the miniature painter (1601-1664) etched plates after Parmegiano, and his nephew John Oliver (1616-1700) the glass-painter and mezzotinter, was responsible for a few prints. If Faithorne the elder etched any plates himself, they have not come down to us. The most important of the early

men is Francis Barlow, a long-neglected and important artist, whose etchings have something more than mere historical value.*

Francis Barlow (c. 1626/c. 1703) who was known to Evelyn as a painter of animals, etched the illustrations to Edward Benlow's *Theophila* published in 1652. These are competent plates of an allegorical nature; and Barlow's knowledge of animals is shown to advantage in the creatures which he introduced into the pictures to represent the Deadly Sins, etc. Having set up as a print-seller, he cast about for some subject on which to exercise his talent as an etcher of animals, and, like Bewick, the wood-cutter, a century and a half afterwards, he selected Æsop's Fables as the most suitable for his purpose. Barlow's book, containing 112 etchings, came out in 1666, and a large proportion of the edition perished almost at once in the Great Fire. The plates were, however, used for several subsequent editions. The designs are free and vigorous, and some of the best are well composed. They bear certain resemblances to the plates of Paul Potter and Berghem, without the genius of either. They mark a stage in the history of book-illustration in England, if not in the history of etching.

His delight in every aspect of the English countryside is well shown in his large plate of "The last Horse Race Run before Charles the Second of Blessed Memory By Dorset Ferry near Windsor Castle." This is an etching of singular interest, in spite of the stiffness of the horses; and, as Mr. Sparrow has pointed out, is the ancestor of all English sporting prints.

Francis Place, another etcher who must be considered here, was an amateur like Evelyn, less universal in scope, but with infinitely more artistic talent. Walpole declares that "Mr. Francis Place, a gentleman of Yorkshire, had a turn to most of the beautiful arts." According to Vertue he learned etching from Hollar, and he was certainly influenced by him, although he himself declared that he was never anybody's disciple. As the munificence of his father relieved him of the necessity of earning his living by the law, he devoted himself to drawing and etch-

*For a valuable estimate—perhaps an over-estimate—of Barlow's importance see *A Book of British Etching*, by Walter Shaw Sparrow, London, 1926.

ing, to experiments in the manufacture of porcelain, and to fishing.* Towards the end of the century he gave up working for the print-sellers, and drew only for his own amusement. He was little in London, preferring the north of England, or at any rate the country, and, caring nothing for fame or wealth, devoted himself only to such pursuits as pleased him. According to Vertue: "In the reign of Charles II he was offered a pension of £500 a year to draw the royal navy; but declined accepting it, as he could not endure confinement and dependence." Place was one of the earliest workers in mezzotint, and scraped portraits of Charles I (after Van Dyck), Charles II, James Naylor the Quaker, William Lodge, an amateur artist like himself who will be referred to later, and others. It is his etchings, however, which are of importance here. His first experiments in the medium resulted in two grotesque heads after Leonardo da Vinci, a copy in reverse after Hollar, and an etching of a picture by Teniers. All these were produced in 1667. Having found his feet, Place proceeded to original work. He etched a series of views of Greenwich Observatory, in a somewhat hard dry manner, and a series of castles, which showed much more feeling for atmosphere, and a greater freedom in the use of the point. He does not seem to have made much use of differences in biting, and he is apt to indicate water with a series of straight lines suggesting the use of the ruler. The very difficult problem of an etched sky he handles with considerable success. His free landscapes are better still, and such a plate as "Water Meadows with distant Village"† shows an understanding of the possibilities of etching which, in England at least, was in advance of his time. In this plate too, his debt to Hollar is less obvious than in his more formal topographical studies. In the circular etching of a "Coast Scene,"‡ he shows signs of the influence of Zeeman and Della Bella. His etchings of birds and beasts after Barlow are well known.

London, at the end of the seventeenth century, had not yet sucked the life out of the provinces. York at least had a vigorous intellectual life of its own, and in

*See "Some Contemporary Records relating to Francis Place, Engraver and Draughtsman, with a Catalogue of his Engraved Work." By Henry M. Hake. The Walpole Society, Vol. X, 1921-1922.

†Hake, no. 22.

‡Hake, no. 35.

the house of Henry Gyles, the glass painter, a distinguished company was often gathered together, which included all the scientists and artists of the neighbourhood.

A frequent visitor was William Lodge (1649-1689) who, like his friend Place, had been brought up to follow the law, but having accompanied the Earl of Fauconberg on an embassy to Venice, he met there Giacomo Barri, whose *Viaggio Pittresco d'Italia* he translated into English, and published in 1679, under the title of *The Painter's Voyage of Italy*, etching the plates himself. He also produced some plates of antiquities for Dr. Martin Lister, the zoologist and Fellow of the Royal Society, another of his York friends, but his own preference was for landscape, and his best plates, which represent views of English and Italian scenery, have considerable merit.

CHAPTER II

Etching in the Eighteenth Century.

HOLLAR in his etched views of places was less concerned with landscape than with topography, yet even when he was most literal in his interpretation of the scene before him, his sensitive hand always produced something approaching a work of art. After his death his tradition seems to have lapsed and the topographers of the early eighteenth century are poor creatures. The "prospects" of Knyff and Badeslade, or the "views" of Samuel and Nathaniel Buck form very unworthy successors to the work of Loggan, Burghers and Hollar. The *Castles and Mountainous Views in Wales*, published by Boydell, show some advance, and in 1748 appeared John Joshua Kirby's etchings of *Monasteries, Castles, Ancient Churches and Monuments in the County of Suffolk*.

The middle of the century witnessed an improvement. Thomas Sandby became a military draughtsman at the Tower of London in 1741, and his younger brother Paul joined him in the same office, probably in 1746.* The elder brother accompanied Cumberland's expedition against the Young Pretender, and, when the rising had been crushed, Paul Sandby was sent to Scotland as draughtsman to a Government Survey of the Northern and Western Highlands. Like Whistler, long afterwards, he grew tired of official topography, and abandoned his appointment in order to devote himself to art. The sketches with which he occupied his leisure in Scotland have (perhaps, by reaction) little of the topographical character which we are apt to think of as typical of Sandby throughout his career. On his return to London he published a series of small etchings based on these early sketches, and they are as much "composed" as the etchings of Waterloo. But they show considerable feeling for light and air, and some knowledge of the gradation of tone. Sandby was particularly successful with the figures which he inserted in his landscape compositions, and in the humorous appeal of some of his studies he foreshadows Rowlandson.

His brother's position as Deputy Ranger of Windsor Great Park, and

*See A History of the "Old Water Colour" Society, by John Lewis Roget, 1891, Vol I, p. 18.

Sandby's own social accomplishments caused him to be one of the first to benefit by the new passion for the arts which had begun to inspire the nobility. He made several sketching-tours in the company of the Hon. Charles Greville, and it was the latter who introduced Sandby to the use of aquatint for the reproduction of his drawings. At first Sandby reinforced the aquatint with the etching needle but did this less and less as his skill in handling the new medium increased. Aquatint, in fact, while it was of great use to the rising school of landscape and to the makers of satirical prints, tended to divert Sandby from the practice of pure etching. However, other etchers were at work.

The influence of Rembrandt, so long obscured, at last began to make itself felt. Thomas Worlidge (1700-1766) etched a series of plates in imitation of his manner, and Arthur Pond (c. 1705-1758), who is famous also for his reproductions of old master drawings and his experiments in chiaroscuro, etched, in a style similar to that of the great Dutch master, several portraits, including those of Bolingbroke, Alexander Pope, Thomas Sadler, the antiquary, and himself. Worlidge at first practised painting, and in Bath and London produced portraits in oil and pastel and drew miniatures on vellum. In these pursuits he had little success, and he finally took up etching. His style, even to the poses of the figures, was closely modelled on that of Rembrandt, yet, although his portraits are obviously imitative, they have considerable delicacy and vigour. But the most enthusiastic of the tardy disciples of Rembrandt was Captain Baillie.

William Baillie (1723-1810) was born at Killbride, County Carlow, in Ireland, and having abandoned his career as a soldier when he had attained to the rank of captain, he devoted himself to the arts and became one of the most distinguished amateurs of his time. He never developed a style of his own, but his knowledge of etchings was extensive and profound, and he succeeded in imitating the manner of various masters with considerable success. To Rembrandt he was particularly devoted. He copied *The Gold-weigher* and *The Three Trees*: and having become possessed of the worn copper plate of *Christ Healing the Sick*, commonly called "The Hundred Guilder Print," he reworked the lines—perhaps the only attempt to restore Rembrandt's worn-out plates which is not entire vandalism and sacrilege.

All these artists, however, were for the most part reproductive and imitative. More important in the history of etching in England, and in the revival of the etching tradition, is the interesting figure of Heneage Finch, Fourth Earl of Aylesford (1751-1812).^{*} Lord Caermarthen, as he was before he succeeded the third Earl in 1777, had studied at Oxford under John Baptist Malchan, the German artist who came from Cologne to England in 1754, and established himself at Oxford as a drawing and music master. Among his other accomplishments was etching, and about 1769 he produced a series of small views of Oxford, proofs of which are now in the British Museum. He had several distinguished pupils, including, besides Aylesford, Sir George Beaumont, Oldfield Bowles, and perhaps William Croft, the painter and musician, who seems to have produced an occasional etched plate.

As an etcher Aylesford was much the most important of these men, besides being an enthusiastic collector of Rembrandt's etchings. Indeed he probably possessed the finest collection of Rembrandt's etchings that has ever existed. It is not always realised how difficult it was for Rembrandt's etchings to have any influence, when so few English artists ever had a chance of looking at them. In the days before photography, and before the establishment of great national print collections, it was only by purchasing the etchings themselves that anything could be learned of the methods that had gone to their making.

His first master, Malchan, shows no trace of such an influence. His work, although not without originality, plainly owes most to Hollar, and perhaps (since his etching was done in England) to Hollar's English imitators. Under Malchan, Finch etched half a dozen plates during the years 1770 and 1771, but it was not until more than twenty years later, when he had had time to form his own collection, that the effect of the study of Rembrandt became apparent.

Some of his earlier plates are hard in manner, with deeply-cutten lines and ruled skies, but the handling gradually grows freer as the artist gains confidence by experiment and study. In the long list of amateurs who have produced good

^{*}See "The Fourth Earl of Aylesford" by A. D. Oppe, *Print Collector's Quarterly*, II, p. 262, 1922. See also *opuscule* by S. de Wicart and Albert Museum: "Catalogue Raisonné of the Etchings of Heneage Finch," by the same author.

work in etching Heneage Finch must take a high place, the higher place indeed from the remarkable fact that it is largely the amateurs who keep the art of true etching alive throughout the eighteenth century.

Meanwhile an independent movement was on foot in Scotland, the details of which have been admirably worked out by the well-known modern etcher, Mr. E. S. Lumsden*. Alexander Runciman (1736-1785) and John Runciman (1744-1768) were two brothers born in Edinburgh, the sons of an architect, who apprenticed the elder of the two to a painter. Sir James Clerk, of Penicuik, was interested enough in the artistic promise of both young men to send them to Italy, where two years later John died at the early age of twenty-four. He seems to have been a better artist, or at least a better etcher, than his brother, whose etchings Mr. Lumsden dismisses as "carelessly drawn pseudo-classical scribbles."

John Runciman's best plate is his *Nether-Bow Port, Edinburgh*, etched in 1764, and it is interesting not only for its merit as an etching, but because in style it overleaps Hollar, has little or no trace of the Dutchmen, but goes straight back to Callot. The sureness of technique and the breadth of handling suggest that other plates by the same artist may yet remain to be discovered. If it be really the work of John Runciman, it is a remarkable achievement for a young man of twenty, and forms the first of a series of triumphs in an art for which Scotsmen seem particularly apt.

John Clerk of Eldin, the brother of the Runcimans' patron, was also an etcher of considerable merit. He was born at Penicuik in 1728, and lived until 1812. In 1753 he married a sister of the Adam brothers. As we have seen by his brother's action, there was a strong artistic tradition in the family, even before this union. It is thought that the technique of etching may have been taught him by Paul Sandby,† but for the rest he was little influenced by anything that was happening in England. He founded his etching practice on that of Hollar,

* See *The Art of Etching*, by E. S. Lumsden, A.R.S.A., London, 1925, p. 192.

† See "The Etchings of John Clerk of Eldin," by E. S. Lumsden, *Print Collector's Quarterly*, 1925, p. 15. Also *A Supplement to the Catalogue, etc.*, by E. S. Lumsden, *Print Collector's Quarterly*, 1926, p. 97.

and was considerably influenced by Zeeman, and, to a certain extent, by Claude. In little longer than ten years (c. 1770-1782) he produced more than a hundred plates, and then had his attention diverted from etching by his interest in naval tactics. His plate of Durham is very fine, and anticipates much later work in the etching of architecture. His habit of reworking with dry point was sometimes disastrous, and his experiments with aquatint produced nothing of any value. A special set of proofs, many of them touched by the hand of Clerk's brother-in-law, Robert Adam, were presented by the Earl of Buchan to the King in 1786. With George IV's gift of the Royal Library, they found their way later into the British Museum.* The first issues of Clerk's plates to the public (and then only twenty-eight subjects, and to members of the Bannatyne Club) took place in 1825, and another issue was made thirty years later. They may even have had something to do with the "Revival of Etching," although the plates were very badly printed and give little idea of the beauty of Clerk's own proofs.

The fame of Alexander Cozens has been somewhat obscured by that of his more famous son, John Robert Cozens. A romantic interest was lent to his history by the legend that he was a natural son of Peter the Great; and his invention of "blotting" as an aid to invention in landscape, has exposed him to a quite unreasonable amount of criticism and abuse†. His book, *A New Method of Assisting the Invention in Drawing Original Compositions of Landscape*, does not concern us here, but another publication, which appeared in 1771, *The Shape, Skeleton and Foliage of Thirty-Two Species of Trees, For the Use of Painting and Drawing*, contains plates and frontispiece apparently etched by Cozens' own hand. These, however, are not much more than diagrams, and Cozens' reputation as an etcher must rest upon his *View in Italy*, a soft-ground etching dated 1751, an impression of which is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, at South Kensington.

John Robert Cozens produced fourteen soft-ground etchings, showing differ-

*Note by Campbell Dodgson, C.B.E., *Print Collector's Quarterly*, 1925, p. 4.

†See "Fresh Light on Alexander Cozens," by A. P. Oppé, *Print Collector's Quarterly*, VIII, p. 61.

ent types of trees, and published in 1789. He was certainly the etcher of these plates, but it is possible that the aquatint tone may have been added by another hand. They are capable pieces of work, although the narrowness of the scope of the publication scarcely allows the artist to display the full extent of his powers.

Thomas Gainsborough's importance as an etcher bears no comparison with his importance in other fields, but he produced some twenty plates, including two or three aquatints. He was one of the first to use the soft-ground process.

Other non-satirical etchers of the eighteenth century who may be mentioned include Edward Edwards, A.R.A. (1738-1806), who in 1790 published fifty-two plates with the title *A Collection of Views and Studies after Nature*. More important is the work of John Thomas Smith (1766-1833). His *Ancient Topography of London*, completed in 1815, contains some thirty plates in the manner of Piranesi. His *Vagabondiana, or Anecdotes of Mendicant Wanderers through the Streets of London* is illustrated with etchings of beggars. Smith was learned and cultivated, and during the latter part of his life was Keeper of the Prints in the British Museum.

CHAPTER III

Satirical Etching and the Sporting Print.

IN the eighteenth century etching was largely diverted in England to the uses of satire and caricature. There is always danger in generalising about peoples and epochs, but for those who have a taste for such an amusing if perilous pastime it may well seem that it was in the eighteenth century that England was more English than it has ever been before or since. Not yet influenced by the Industrial Revolution which made it gloomy, and by the conquest of India which made it "strong and silent," it was still sufficiently remote from the main European current to develop a host of national peculiarities and a rich harvest of native types. It was an age rich in "characters," an age without that passion for uniformity which is partly due to democracy, and partly to the mere shrinkage of the country owing to the increased facilities for transport. It was an age, too, of extraordinary freedom of speech. Star Chambers were forgotten, and the modern Law of Libel had not yet robbed controversy of its rich flavour. Its humour was broad and at times cruel, but manly, vigorous, and racy of the soil, expressing itself naturally in that grotesque exaggeration which is the life-blood of caricature.

Another cause swelled the same stream. The English, even in their freest ages, have always been obsessed by moral values; they have always concealed beneath the most apparently careless acceptance of life's inequalities, a strong tendency to preach. The eighteenth century was a great age of preaching, even in the pulpit. Dr. Johnson brings the same solemn consideration to the merits of rival orators as a modern author might bestow upon popular novelists. A great proportion even of political satire in England is didactic in character, and in social caricature this desire to instruct and improve is even more evident.

Caricature, born in Italy with da Vinci's grotesque heads, attained a certain development in Holland during the latter part of the seventeenth century, and came to England in the train of William III. Holland continued for some time to inspire artists in England, until the pupils began to surpass their masters. Most of the satirical prints called forth by the trial of Dr. Sacheverell in 1710 were the work of Dutch artists, but a decade later the English school may be

said to have started. The benevolent rule of Walpole encouraged the frank expression of opinion, and the sturdy national prejudices of the minister were echoed in the ridicule of foreigners which was so conspicuous a theme of the time. The lack of opportunities for art training at the beginning of the eighteenth century in England made those craftsmen, who felt themselves to be artists, all the more eager to seize the opportunities offered by the vendors of popular prints.*

Of such artists William Hogarth (1697-1764) is much the most famous. The little success of his father's learning having prejudiced him against scholastic attainments, he was, at his own request, taken from school, and apprenticed to an engraver of silver plates. During his apprenticeship he lost no opportunity of training himself to become a line-engraver, and a designer of prints. About 1718 he set up in business on his own account, and engraved coats-of-arms, trade-cards and the like, and began to work for the print-sellers.

His opportunity came with the publication in 1721 of two prints satirising the gambling mania of the time: *An Emblematical Print on the South Sea* and *The Lottery*. Their success encouraged him to continue, and in 1724 he published, without the intervention of a print-seller, his *Masquerades and Operas, Burlington Gate*, a satire on foreign singers. Three years later he began to have ambitions as a painter, and to produce the succession of masterpieces to which he owes his high position in English art. But throughout his lifetime he was generally regarded as an engraver rather than as a painter—at least he found it far more difficult to sell his pictures than to dispose of his prints—and it is with his etched work that we are concerned here. Some of the best of these were subscription tickets for what he regarded as his more serious work, and display all Hogarth's vigour of conception and handling. In particular *The Laughing Audience*, as it is called, issued in 1733 as the subscription ticket for *The Rakes' Progress*, is an etching that astonishes by the variety of the faces depicted, and the understanding of expression displayed by the artist.

For refinement of technique Hogarth cared little or nothing. The vigour of his imagination, and his haste to make his print, prevented him from bestowing

*See *Social Caricature in the Eighteenth Century*, by George Paston, London, 1905.

much care on delicacy of handling. He believed (to use his own words) "that the passions may be more forcibly express'd by a strong, bold stroke than by the most delicate engraving." Most of his plates are etched somewhat crudely, and worked over afterwards with the burin, and many of them are no doubt the work of assistants. The pair of prints entitled *France* and *England* were etched, as was also *The Cock-pit*, one of his most successful productions. The portrait of Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, is masterly, in spite of the somewhat graver-like technique.

Hogarth is notoriously difficult to fit into any of our æsthetic schemes, and yet few would be so hardy as to exclude him from the list of the great English painters. In any case, his position in the history of social satire is secure. He had no pupils, and left no disciples behind him, but he profoundly modified the traditions of his art, and permanently affected the character of English humorous illustration.

The next great figure among the satirical etchers of the eighteenth century is that of Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827), who, unlike Hogarth, did not climb from caricature to historical painting, but lapsed, owing to his indolence of temperament and the dissipation of his life, from the glories of high art to working for the print-sellers. It may be doubted, however, whether he would ever have succeeded in producing works in emulation of the old masters, as from his earliest years he seems to have had a talent for caricature, and we may be grateful that he was diverted by circumstances into the field where his true genius had scope. He studied at the Royal Academy Schools and then in Paris, and, after exhibiting a scriptural subject at the Academy exhibition, settled down in London as a portrait painter. But a restless disposition and the tastes of his chosen associates—Gillray, Bunbury, and Wagstead, among them—pushed him more and more in the direction of caricature. By the middle of the 'eighties he is well launched on his new career, and he continues to produce humorous work until the end of his life, much of it book-illustration, under the stern eye of Rudolph Ackermann, the German print-seller in the Strand, who from 1808 to 1834 fills such an important place in the history of English coloured prints.

Like Hogarth he preferred social to political satire, but he had more opportunity of studying the *beau monde* at first hand than Hogarth had ever had.

Not only did Rowlandson belong to a somewhat higher social sphere than that of the older master, but towards the end of the century a gradual change was taking place in the constitution of society itself. The great days of the oligarchy were already over, and although democracy was still far distant, the upper classes mingled with the lower at such haunts of pleasure as Ranelagh and Vauxhall in a way which would have been impossible under the first two Georges.

The extravagances of fashion, the monstrous head-dresses of the seventeenth-eighties, and the equally monstrous hats of the "Directoire" period were excellent material for the satirist. The passion for gambling, which Hogarth had ridiculed in 1720, was even more rampant at the end of the century, and the scandals of high life, now paraded in the open, were alone sufficient to keep the caricaturist busy. But when has satire lacked material?

Rowlandson, however, must be considered here not as a priceless historical record, a faithful mirror of his time, but as an etcher, which, for him, meant the same thing as a draughtsman. For the essential qualities of etching he cared little; but as a means of multiplying his drawings it was the best medium available. His method was to etch the pure outline of his compositions on the plate, the aquatint tone for which this outline served as a skeleton being added in Ackermann's factory. Colour was then added by hand, and the finished product put on sale.

As a draughtsman Rowlandson was remarkable. His little figures live and move, each with a life of its own, each drawn with an astonishing insight into individual character. His power of imparting animation to crowds is equal to Callot's, and the people in the crowds are full of a much more human interest. The system of curves on which his drawing is based is as apt to describe the grotesque figures of fops, bruisers and old men, as the rounded contours of female beauty. All are drawn with equal vividness, and Rowlandson is remarkable among caricaturists in that he so rarely drew a figure that was purely conventional. He had stored his memory so richly with the forms of his contemporaries that every one seems freshly observed and drawn upon the spot. He occupies an important place not only in the history of caricature but in that of

the sporting print, an ever popular English institution which, as it used etching for its medium at one period of its career, must be briefly touched on.

In this connection it will not be out of place to deal with the etchings of George Stubbs (1724-1806) who did more than any other artist to elevate the taste of the squirearchy, and to make the patrons of the sporting print demand a greater faithfulness to nature than had hitherto been usual.* Stubbs was a painter, and his etching was incidental. Nevertheless it is a remarkable achievement, and should not pass unnoticed. Anxious to improve his knowledge of the equine anatomy, he spent eighteen months preparing drawings from dissected carcasses.† Finding no one capable or willing enough to engrave his drawings, he resolved to reproduce them himself by etching, and spent some six or seven years on his self-imposed task. The *Anatomy of the Horse* was published by subscription in 1766. The etched work is amazing in its patient delicacy, although its professed scientific purposes place it somewhat outside the scope of a survey of painter-etching.

Another animal painter who etched was Sawrey Gilpin (1733-1807). He was chiefly employed by the Duke of Cumberland to paint racers at Newmarket, and he produced a set of etchings of horses and another of cattle, which have real merit. William Henry Pyne (1769-1843) was a water-colour painter of landscape and figure subjects. His angling studies show his appreciation of character as well as his interest in rural sports. His *Microcosm of Great Britain*, published in 1803, is a mine of information for the student of the period.

Samuel Howitt (c. 1765-1822) was a self-taught artist who specialised in sporting subjects. He etched a certain number of plates from his own designs, of which *Pike Fishing* is one of the most successful. Much more prolific than Howitt was Robert Hills, animal and landscape-painter in water-colours, who etched more than twelve hundred plates of animal subjects. His knowledge of animals was profound and his treatment sympathetic. In fact he sometimes gives a hint of a slight tendency to endow animals with human sentiments, a tendency which was later to be the curse of Sir Edwin Landseer. Hills, however, keeps on

*See *Old English Sporting Prints and their History*, by Ralph Nevill, London, 1923.

†See *A Book of British Etching*, by Walter Shaw Sparrow, London, 1926.

the right side of sentimentality, and his *Old Horse* is a fine plate, well designed and curiously moving. Sometimes he tended to over-elaboration, and so was better in his open-air scenes, when he had an opportunity of leaving spaces of the paper white to indicate the effect of sunlight.

The difficulty of dealing with sporting prints in this connection lies in the fact that in so few of them are artist and engraver the same person. Rowlandson etched his own plates, as for instance the six racing prints which appeared in 1789, but his brother-in-law, Samuel Howitt, seems only to have supplied the drawings from which other artists worked. Henry Alken, the elder (1785-1851), aquatinted a series of large plates of shooting subjects, most of which were etched by Rowlandson. Alken engraved sporting subjects after various artists, and his own drawings were sometimes reproduced by others. But the majority of his plates were etched by himself in soft-ground, and afterwards coloured by hand. After the nineteen-thirties the sporting print ceases to be of interest to any but professed specialists.

Political caricature in England rose to its height, or sank to its depths, with James Gillray (1757-1815). Like Hogarth, he was apprenticed at an early age to an engraver, but managed to acquire a knowledge of figure drawing as a student of the Royal Academy. Caricature seems from the first to have been the bounds of his ambition, and from 1780 onwards his work becomes almost entirely political. It continued to be so until his mind gave way, four years before his death in 1815.

Some of his satires on the royal family were so savage that it is astonishing that they remained unpunished. The younger Pitt, Charles James Fox and Sheridan all come in for their share of scathing pictorial comment, but it is perhaps Napoleon who is most ferociously ridiculed in Gillray's work. The value of the Bonaparte prints for purposes of what we have learned to call propaganda must have been very considerable, and it is a pity that when the final victory came in 1815, the artist was beyond understanding or rejoicing in it.

As a draughtsman (for as an etcher proper he can hardly be considered) he was distinguished chiefly by a fertility of invention and a power of intricate composition, which was never allowed to overload the theme of his attack with de-

tail, nor blunt the point of his satire. Many of his prints are meat too strong for the stomachs of the present age, and indeed many of them exhibit a ferocity already suggestive of the insanity of his later years. His laugh is a snarl, his delicacy non-existent, either in subject or handling, but in the broad stream of satirical etching which we are following to its extinction, he must always hold an important place.

In the sphere of personal caricature of a good-natured sort a special place must be reserved for the Dightons. Robert Dighton was born in 1752, and early realised that his talent was seen to most advantage when he confined his attempts to portrait caricatures.* He was at first connected with the stage, where he had an opportunity of studying facial types. His attempts at political satire were a failure, but by 1800 he had found his real line. The celebrities of London and Brighton first engaged his attention; then in 1807 he went to Oxford, and produced the famous series of dons, which, on the walls of that city's older hotels, still attract the notice of the modern visitor to Oxford. Then he went to Cambridge and repeated his success. He died in 1814.

He left two sons, Denis and Richard, who continued the same kind of work as their father. Denis produced very few caricatures, as he was more taken up with painting. Richard etched caricatures of military officers, and of city financiers. When the taste for these passed, he turned to profile portraits, his long life coming to an end in 1880.

The Dighton tradition has been happily revived in our own time by George Belcher, who has frankly modelled his style on the tinted etchings of the early nineteenth century. With very strong feeling for character, and a happy knack of recording an amiable eccentricity, he has been most successful with his plates depicting personalities at the National Sporting Club.

As the tradition of satirical etching is so entirely a thing apart, it will be convenient to pursue it here to its extinction. After the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Englishmen settled down to the long peace and to a growing preoccupation with industrial problems. The savagery of Gillray seemed out of place;

*For a full account of the Dightons and a Catalogue of their works, see "Dighton Caricatures," by Henry M. Hake, *Print Collector's Quarterly*, XIII (1926), pp. 137 and 237.

and the typical satirical etcher of the period is George Cruikshank (1792-1878) who begins in the manner of Gillray, and ends in the bosom of the Victorians. Much of his work is a harking back to Hogarth in subject-matter, if not in treatment. There is no personal animosity in his work; his aim is the correction of abuses, and his strong opinions upon the evils of drunkenness led him into some extravagance during the latter period of his life. He had, however, reason to be conscious of the dangers of alcohol, for his father, Isaac Cruikshank, a caricaturist of the Gillray type, is said to have hastened his death by his intemperate habits. George Cruikshank's brother Robert was also a caricaturist who, about 1825, was diverted to book-illustration, embellishing such works as Westmacott's *English Spy*, and the famous *Life in London* for which Pierce Egansupplied the text. In the latter work Robert collaborated with George, and the book became the "best-seller" of the period.

The best of George Cruikshank's satire is directed against the Prince Regent, especially against the scandals of his married life. Such plates as *The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder* and *The Political House that Jack Built* were collected with others in a volume entitled *Facetiæ and Miscellanies*, issued in 1827. In the same book is the plate inspired by his indignation against capital punishment for minor offences—his *Bank-note—not to be Imitated*—which marks the beginning of his humanitarian activity, and the transition from personal satire to moral teaching—a change so characteristic of the period.

From 1828 much of his work began to be reproduced in wood-engraving. There was indeed nothing of the essential etcher in Cruikshank, although he still continued to produce the great mass of his work with the needle. It is impossible here even to describe the vast amount of work which he accomplished during his long life. His facility was amazing, and although it is possible to dislike the curious blend of the sentimental and grotesque which made him so apt an illustrator of Dickens, his real talent for caricature and his importance as a bridge between two epochs will always give him a place in the history of British art.

Another illustrator of Dickens who must be mentioned as an etcher is Hablot Knight Browne (1815-1882) or "Phiz," who has impressed the im-

aged features of Sam Weller, Uriah Heep, and the rest, so indelibly on the English mind. He was also famous as an illustrator of Lever, for whose novels he had an opportunity to exercise his power of drawing horses in violent action.

The disuse of etching for caricature was signalised in 1841 by the first appearance of *Punch*, in which the illustrations were cut on wood. An artist like John Leech would, no doubt, had he been born twenty or thirty years earlier, have ranked high as a satirical etcher. As it is, his dated plates are comparatively few, although he contributed etchings to the comic histories and sporting novels of his time. Like "Phiz" he was a keen huntsman; and both these artists continue, in an indirect way, the tradition of the sporting print.

Charles Keene, who began to draw for *Punch* ten years later than Leech, is significant of the change which had taken place in illustration, for he was actually apprenticed to a wood-engraver. He did, however, etch, and his serious plates are of sufficient importance for discussion later in their proper place.

CHAPTER IV

Early Nineteenth Century Etching

WE have seen that it was the custom of the satirical etchers at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries to etch their compositions in outline and rely on the assistance of aquatint for the addition of tone. Richard Earlom was by profession a mezzotint engraver, and scraped a considerable number of portraits, as well as a few landscape subjects and flower-pieces after various artists. The drawings known as the *Liber Veritatis*, which the great Claude had made of his pictures, in order to be able to identify paintings which had passed out of his hands, had come into the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. Earlom set out to reproduce these for the publisher Boydell; he imitated the pen line of Claude with an etched line, and the bistre wash by means of mezzotint. The plates were then printed in ink of a warm bistre, and the resulting prints had very much the same general appearance as the original drawings.

This reproductive work of Earlom would be outside our scope had not it formed the direct inspiration for the *Liber Studiorum* of J. M. W. Turner. The circumstances of the birth of this project in Turner's mind have been recently elucidated by Mr. Finberg.* In 1806, Turner had reached the first part of the middle period of his career as a painter. His age was 32, and he was already working in what is called his "second manner,"† that is, the period of *Crossing the Brook*, *The Sun Rising through Vapour*, etc. Claude Lorrain was at the height of his fame in England, and rivalry with Claude, as is well known, was one of the most persistent preoccupations of Turner as a painter. The *Liber Veritatis*, as engraved by Earlom, excited not so much Turner's emulation as his resentment. He regarded it as a travesty, and when William Frederick Wells, the water-colour painter, whose house Turner frequented, proposed to him that he should undertake a similar series of his own, he took up the project eagerly.

*See *The History of Turner's Liber Studiorum*, with a new Catalogue Raisonné, by Alexander J. Finberg, London, 1924.

†See *Turner's Liber Studiorum: A Description and a Catalogue*, by W. G. Rawlinson, London, 2nd Ed. 1906. [1st Ed. 1878.]

The technical method was to be the same as that used in the *Liber Veritatis*, but the purpose was something different. Claude's series of drawings (as a series, at least) had been an afterthought; Turner's *Liber* was to be conceived from the first in terms of engraving, and designed, not to copy his own pictures, but to exhibit the range of his powers by a series of original compositions. In the course of the work, he sometimes reproduced his own paintings, but even when he did so, he introduced so many differences in the design that the engraving is a new work.

There were to be a hundred plates, and Wells gave him that system of classification—Historic, Mountainous, Architectural, Elegant Pastoral—which has sounded so oddly in the ears of collectors ever since. The vitality of Claude's line had suffered so badly in Earlom's etched translation that Turner was determined to do the etching of his plates himself. His practice was to supply a design to the engraver, who traced the drawing on the grounded plate. Turner then re-drew his composition with the needle, following the main lines of the original, but varying the details at will. The engraver then bit the plate and pulled a few proofs, and it is with these proofs that we are here concerned.* The tone which was added afterwards was nearly always the work of other hands. Generally it was in mezzotint, sometimes in aquatint, and occasionally in a mixture of the two processes. The resulting prints are, of course, infinitely superior to Earlom's after Claude, although such a judgment says nothing about the relative merits of Turner and Claude as painters.

The high prices paid for *Liber Studiorum* plates are a proof of the growing consideration in which they are now held by collectors, but at the time of their publication purchasers were difficult to find. This was due, at least in part, to the extreme irregularity with which the plates were issued, but, in any case, Turner became discouraged by the lack of public support, and in 1820 suspended publication, thirty subjects out of the promised hundred being still unfinished. The set was completed by the pious labour of Sir Frank Short in our own time.

*About eight pulls of each subject are in existence. The best collections in England are those of the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and Mr. A. A. Allen; in America, that of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Bullard Bequest.)

Turner's etchings were only skeletons of what they were intended to become, yet so virile is their draughtsmanship, and so complete their grasp of form, that one may regret that a tone process was ever called in to obscure the vivid outlines of Turner's own handiwork. The deeply bitten lines of the foreground, the delicate gradation of distance, serve to show Turner's power of composition as well as his knowledge of rock form and tree form at its best. Such a plate as the *Little Devil's Bridge* (very rare in the etched state) reveals to advantage his mastery of drawing. The jagged slopes on which the trees cling are subtly contrasted with the angular tree-forms, and with the more intricate shapes of the distant mountains. The gloomy shadows of the scene, the rain and the driving clouds, were added by Charles Turner in mezzotint, but the vigorous outline still shows through to demonstrate the force of the etcher's conception. J. M. W. Turner's power of suggesting rock-structure is well shown in the famous plate of *Hind Head Hill*, and in *Ben Arthur*; his manner of suggesting vast expanse and distance, in his *Junction of the Severn and Wye*, one of the most satisfying of the whole series. His skill in handling the "soft-ground" process is seen in *Calm*, only one impression of which is known to exist in the etched state. This was one of the plates finished by Turner himself, in a mixture of aquatint and mezzotint.

The *Via Mala*, the most stupendous of Turner's mountain scenes, is thought by Mr. Finberg to have been etched, not by him, but by H. Dawe.* The plate was, however, the subject of one of Ruskin's most glowing passages and it must be admitted that the finished mezzotint (the drawing for which is now in the National Gallery of British Art) is very fine.

The skeleton system of Earlom, Turner, and the artists of caricature and the sporting print, was adopted by another artist, Thomas Girtin (1775-1802) who has only recently begun to receive the recognition due to him. He was born in the same year as Turner, and he might have rivalled his triumphs in English landscape had he not died in 1802 at the early age of twenty-seven. Turner and Girtin are said to have met when they were both employed, as lads, to colour prints for John Raphael Smith, the well-known mezzotint engraver. They were both patronised by the amateur Dr. Munro, and both were allowed to

*The History of Turner's *Liber Studiorum*, by Alexander J. Finberg, London, 1924, p.lv.

copy the works of older masters in the collection of John Henderson. Girtin's attention was early directed to the work of Canaletto, and he began to make architectural studies in the manner of that painter. His proficiency led to his employment as a drawing-master, and as a travelling companion to the antiquary, James Moore, who took him to Peterborough, Lichfield, Lincoln and other cathedral towns*.

The Peace of Amiens gave English artists an opportunity of visiting France. Girtin went to Paris in November, 1801, and employed himself, in spite of ill-health, in sketching some of the main features of the city. The lack of close foreground in the drawings is explained by the fact that owing to the hostility of the Parisians, Girtin found it necessary to sketch from the windows of a carriage. The Paris views were drawn in outline, and etched in soft-ground by the artist himself. A set of proofs was coloured as models for the aquatint engravers, but Girtin never lived to see the work completed. He returned home to die in 1802, and it was not until a year later that his brother John brought out the work entitled: *A Selection of Twenty of the most Picturesque Views in Paris and its Environs ... drawn and etched in the year 1802 by the late Thomas Girtin, being the only etchings of that celebrated artist, and aquatinted in exact imitation of the original drawings, in the collection of the Rt. Honble. the Earl of Essex.* A fire in John Girtin's shop destroyed many copies of the Paris views, as well as other works by Thomas Girtin. The etched states (i.e., before the addition of aquatint) are, in any case, very rare, but may be studied at the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum.

William Turner, known, to distinguish him from his great contemporary, as "Turner of Oxford" (1789-1862), is an etcher who deserves something better than the obscurity into which he has fallen. His subject matter in etching seems to have been entirely drawn from his favourite city. Perhaps his most effective plate is his view of Oxford Castle.

Mention must also be made of Cornelius Varley (1781-1873), who published in 1809 a series of *Etchings of Shipping, Barges, Fishing Boats, and other Vessels*,

*See A History of the "Old Water Colour" Society, by John Lewis Roget, London, 1891, Vol. I, p. 89.

met with on the British coasts, rivers, etc. These are somewhat large plates, etched with a broad, open line, and full of sunlight. Varley in his later life was diverted more and more to scientific pursuits, such as improvements in microscopes, and the invention of a *camera lucida*. His brother, John Varley (1778-1842), etched occasionally, but his plates are not of much importance. He was one of the most famous drawing-masters of his period, and between 1816 and 1821 he brought out in parts his *Treatise on the Principles of Landscape Designs* with sixteen plates engraved in aquatint.

An important place must be assigned to the group of publications, so plentiful in the early nineteenth century, known as "drawing books." Apart from their importance in the history of water-colour painting, they are of interest as containing examples of etching by various famous artists. Some of the earliest were issued by Ackermann, and they often consist of coloured aquatints, reproduced by an engraver from the artists' drawings, as for example in Bryant's *Treatise on the use of Indian Inks and Colours*, which appeared in 1808, or in Orme's *Practical Essay*, which came out in the previous year. More important for our present purposes is the work of Samuel Prout. He was in the habit of furthering his instructions as an art-master by circulating among his pupils a number of model designs. To multiply these he resorted to soft-ground etching, and his *Rudiments of Landscape, in Progressive Studies, Drawn and Etched in imitation of chalk*, was published by Ackermann in 1813. This is in three parts, the first in soft-ground etching, the second in aquatint, and the third in coloured aquatint. In the same year was published his *Village Scenery*, soft-ground etchings coloured by hand, an unsatisfactory process which was to find few imitators.

In the following year appeared David Cox's *Treatise on Landscape Painting and Effect in Water Colours*, which contains twenty-five soft-ground etchings, and a number of aquatints engraved by R. Reeve*. His *Progressive Lessons on Landscape for Young Beginners* was issued in 1816, and contains twenty-five plates of soft-ground etchings, designed as models for pencil drawing.

Richard Sass (1774-1849) produced some thirty-six *Sketches from Nature* in

*For a good account of the early drawing books, see *English Coloured Books*, by Martin Hardie London, 1906, p. 117.

soft-ground etching. His handling of the medium resembles stipple, and his biting is somewhat crude and irregular. None the less such a plate as his *Village of Grange entering Borrowdale, Cumberland*, in spite of the arbitrary rock-forms, is an effective design.

Sass's volume was published in 1800. Another etcher, almost contemporary, whose etched work did not appear until 1843, was William Collins (1788-1867). The apparent delicacy of his plates is deceptive. On closer examination the drawing is seen to be rough, with little understanding of the anatomy of hands and feet.

The *Deliciæ Sylvarum* of Jacob George Strutt appeared in 1828-9. He had considerable knowledge of tree form. *Scene in Windsor Forest* is one of his best plates. The younger George Cuitt (1779-1854) produced a series of etchings of *Old Buildings in the City of Chester*, marked by a certain picturesque sentiment which is not unattractive. A volume entitled *Ancient Cathedrals, Hotels de Ville, and other notable buildings in France, Holland, Germany and Italy*, the work of John Coney (1786-1833), appeared one year before the artist's death. The "Antiquities of York" were etched by Henry Cave (1780-1836) while Thomas Miles Richardson (1784-1848) devoted himself to castles and priories in Northumberland. David Roberts (1796-1864) published in 1831 a series of etchings entitled *The Antiquities of Scotland*.

Mention has already been made of Cornelius Varley. Another early etcher of sea-coast scenes was Edward William Cooke (1811-1880) who produced, when still little more than a boy, an attractive series of *Fifty Plates of Shipping and Craft*. These have something more than an historical interest. The draughtsmanship is simple and sure, with a strong sense of design. Some five years later he brought out his *Views of Old and New London Bridges*.

In the rise of a native school of landscape which took place towards the end of the eighteenth century, the importance of the Norwich School is universally acknowledged. Although the painters of this school only turned to etching either for relaxation*, or for the more scholarly and antiquarian side of their

*Mr. Shaw Sparrow thinks that Crome etched because, as a conscientious drawing-master, he wished to be able to instruct his pupils in the art. See *A Book of British Etching*, London, 1926, p. 155.

work, the plates they left are not only of interest in themselves, but had some effect on the development of the art during the nineteenth century.

The merit of Crome's etchings was not recognised until some time after his paintings had become familiar, in spite of the set of proofs issued in 1838 with Dawson Turner's biographical memoir. These plates were indeed "improved" almost beyond recognition, the wildly elaborate sky of *Mousehold Heath*, for instance, having been removed and mechanically ruled lines substituted. It is thought that Thomas Harvey of Catton, an amateur etcher who had produced more than fifty plates, "mostly of different kinds of cattle," first taught Crome to etch*, but the master's main inspiration came from the Dutchmen, in particular from Ruysdael and Waterloo. He probably began with "soft-ground" etching, the most natural approach to any one accustomed to the use of the pencil†. After a few attempts he seems to have adopted the more ordinary etching technique, working with the needle directly on the plate. A few impressions of each were taken by the local printer of visiting cards, and the results, free as they are from all the aids of fine paper, surface tone and retoussage, which were afterwards to be exploited by etchers, are sufficient to show Crome's mastery of line. They are arrested, as Haden's were to be later, at the point of a sketch, and their very carelessness is a part of their charm.

Crome's friends thought more highly of his etchings than he did himself. He allowed himself, in 1812, to be persuaded to issue a prospectus for their publication, but although subscribers were not lacking, Crome continued to delay publication, and the plates had not yet been issued to the public at the time of his death. Ten years later, however, the poverty of his widow caused some of his friends to get the etchings ready for publication, and they appeared in 1834 under the title of *Norfolk Picturesque Scenery*. As the retouched plates issued four years later are travesties, it is to the edition of 1834 that the student of Crome's work must go, in order to understand how fine he could be at his best. His mas-

*Crome's Etchings. A Catalogue and an Appreciation, by Henry Studdy Theobald, M.A. London, 1906, p. 63.

†See *The Norwich School of Painting*, by William Frederick Dickes. London and Norwich (1905).

terpiece, *Mousehold Heath*, has already been mentioned. It is an etching of fairly large size (eight inches high by eleven inches long), but even in reduced reproduction it does not lose the airy spaciousness of the original. The horizon line divides the plate horizontally, the proportion of sky to earth being three-fifths to two-fifths. The horizon is almost the only straight line in the composition, the foreground being filled with an elaborate system of interlocking planes, with a road leading down to, and around, a pool in a hollow. These forms are balanced by the heavy cloud shapes in the sky, one of the very few successful skies in all etching.

The approach of John Sell Cotman (1782-1842) to etching was somewhat different. He had hoped that his contribution to Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, published in 1808, would have led to commissions for similar work. As it had not done so, and as his marriage in 1809 had increased his burdens, he set himself to learn etching*, and his first publication was issued to subscribers during 1810. It consisted of twenty-four landscape and architectural studies, the light and shade well managed, the contours brilliant, the figures somewhat stiff, and the whole displaying something of that grandeur of composition to be seen in Piranesi, whose work he confessedly emulated.

The success of this undertaking encouraged him to begin another, and he issued proposals for his *Specimens of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk*, to be issued in parts. The publication, which was completed by 1818, contains some of Cotman's finest work. The accuracy of the antiquarian has not been allowed to narrow the vision of the artist. There is throughout a boldness and a virility of handling, allied to an astonishing power of rendering texture, the complicated texture of a patched and mouldering wall.

By this time, unfortunately, the growing claims of his family caused him to devote more and more of his time to teaching and to the production of etched work, which, interesting and valuable in itself, is somewhat outside the sphere of art. Such a publication as his *Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk* is a monument to his industry, but could add little to his fame as an artist. In his *Architectural*

*See, however, *The Norwich School of Painting*, by Dicks, p. 86, for a description of a plate by Cotman supposed to have been etched in 1801.

Antiquities of Normandy, the skies are ruled, the trees merely suggested, and he concentrates upon the detail of architecture.

His *Liber Studiorum*, which contains some of his finest work, and indeed some of the finest etchings ever produced by the soft-ground process, was conceived in frank emulation of Turner. Although it includes some of his earliest plates it was not published until 1838, and it was not until 1846 that there was issued a series of eight etchings in what is called Cotman's Rembrandt manner, four of them figure studies, a surprising fact in view of the difficulty which Cotman always had with his figures. In the same portfolio were issued *Ten Etchings by M. E. Cotman, now first published*, and in the same year appeared another set of *Eleven Original Etchings*, by M. E. Cotman. Miles Edmund Cotman (1810-1858) was the son and pupil of John Sell Cotman, and succeeded his father in various teaching appointments. His work in water-colour is almost excessively minute, and the etchings are not always successful. However, in *Postwick Grove* and *Hay Boats on the Medway*, he showed considerable feeling for composition, and a strong sense of the poetry of landscape.

Etched work was produced by James Stark (1794-1859), another Norwich artist, who was induced by Cotman's success to take up the needle, with a view to reproducing his pictures. He found the medium uncongenial, and only produced half-a-dozen etchings, without any subtlety of biting, but not lacking considerable feeling for design.

George Vincent, who, like Stark, was a pupil of Crome, was born in 1796, but at what date he died is a mystery, for about 1831 he disappeared, and is thought to have committed suicide. Between 1822 and 1827, however, he produced a few etched plates, some of them after his own paintings, but none of any great importance.

More important in etching history is the Rev. E. T. Daniell (1804-1842), a gifted amateur. He received teaching from several artists of the Norwich School, including Crome and Cotman. He practised etching in the studio of Joseph Stannard, during his vacations from Oxford, between 1823 and 1828. He was a close friend of John Linnell, and assisted him in his endeavours to promote the sale of Blake's etchings in illustration of the Book of Job. He was, how-

ever, completely untouched by Blake's influence, and when he took up the needle again in 1831 it was to record his impressions of landscape during visits to Ireland and Scotland. When he was transferred to a curacy at St. Mark's, South Audley Street, London, he threw himself with enthusiasm into the company of artists*, and exhibited paintings both at the Royal Academy and the British Institution.

His friendship with Roberts, and his admiration for that artist's drawings of the Orient induced him to resign his curacy and join an expedition to Asia Minor. His exploring zeal cost him his life, for he was struck down by fever on the way to Adalia, and died there on September 24th, 1842, at the early age of 38.

It is idle to speculate on the possible effects which a longer life might have had on the history of etching in England. Daniell produced some thirty plates, as remarkable for their technical mastery as for the earliness of their appearance. He understood the use of drypoint, and he knew that an etching need not have every inch of its surface covered with a network of lines. In such a plate as *Castle Acre* the white paper plays a conspicuous part in the design, and his *Clump of Trees at Quidenham* (etched in 1833) and his *Norwich Castle* (etched in the following year) are remarkable examples of his skill and comprehension of the medium. *Borough Bridge* is perhaps the best of his plates.

The two friends of Daniell mentioned above, Joseph Stannard and John Linnell, were both etchers. The manner of Joseph Stannard was eighteenth-century in its treatment of foliage, but he had a capacity for observing rustic and sea-faring types very vividly, and placing them convincingly in their surroundings. His etchings, like his paintings, were almost entirely confined to coast and river-scenes.

John Linnell had a vigorous personality which led him in his day to considerable financial success. As the friend of Blake and the father-in-law of Samuel Palmer his life is of considerable importance in the history of nineteenth

*These included Turner, Landseer, Stanfield, Mulready, Roberts, Dyce and Linnell. See *The Norwich School of Painting*, by W. F. Dickes, London and Norwich (1905). Daniell was also in touch with Linnell's son-in-law, Samuel Palmer (for whom see p. 50).

century painting in England. His etchings have the pastoral sentiment of Palmer, without the latter's transforming gift of imagination.

Daniell was very friendly with another Norwich artist who etched: Henry Ninham (1793-1874). The latter published, in 1842, *Eight Original Etchings of Picturesque Antiquities of Norwich*. Such a plate as *Sir Benjamin Wrench's Court*, while somewhat lacking in atmosphere, is delicately drawn and well composed. He also etched some fifty tree studies for Grigor's *Eastern Arboretum*, and a certain amount of reproductive work—Norwich antiquities after drawings by his father, and others. In 1875, after his death, fifteen of his etchings were published with a memoir of his life. Most of these were executed between 1830 and 1840 (some after drawings by Cotman, J. B. Crome and Bonington) and several of his plates are of technical interest because of his use of fowl-biting, in order to obtain an effect like that of aquatint. His style was somewhat over-elaborated, owing, no doubt, to his early training as an engraver.

Ninham taught etching to yet another Norwich artist, Alfred Priest (1810-1850), who afterwards became the pupil of James Stark, in London. In the 'thirties and 'forties he exhibited regularly at the Royal Academy, the British Institution and the Suffolk Street Galleries. He etched some fifty plates and seems to have experimented with mezzotint and lithography. His etchings, some of which have the appearance of aquatint, due to his skilful use of a rotten ground, cover a wide range of subject—seascapes, landscapes and animal studies—and have considerable merit.

Mention may also be made of *Nine Etchings by John Middleton* published in 1852, but by that date we are on the eve of the "revival," and the etchers of the Norwich School sink into the background. There is, however, one artist who belongs to the Norwich group in spirit, although he was for the greater part of his life a drawing-master at Salisbury. David Charles Read (1790-1851), published in 1845 a set of *Etchings from Nature, designed to illustrate a few of the leading features of English Scenery*, and it is by these that he is best known. His earliest published etchings came out at Salisbury in 1828 and these were followed by a set of fourteen plates, which appeared in 1832. A year later his *œuvre* comprised more than a hundred plates and before he died he had more than doubled the num-

ber, so that he is among the most prolific of the landscape etchers of the early nineteenth century. His style, founded on that of the seventeenth-century Dutchmen, is not without charm, especially in the drypoints, where he shows his power of simple, unaffected statement, and makes the most of the white of the paper.

It is curious how often regenerating influences in etching have come from Scotland, or from sources at least partly Scottish. The earlier part of the nineteenth century was no exception, and two men, Sir David Wilkie, and Andrew Geddes, stand apart from their contemporaries in foreshadowing the later developments of the "revival."

To deal first with the less distinguished (as an etcher): David Wilkie was born in Fifeshire in 1785, and showed such an unmistakable bent for art that his father sent him to Edinburgh to study. His successful picture of Pitlessie Fair was painted in 1804, and in the following year he visited London and became a student at the Royal Academy. He finally succeeded to the offices of both Raeburn and Lawrence, the first having been "Limner to His Majesty" for Scotland, and the latter "Portrait Painter in Ordinary to the King." He died on board ship on June 1st, 1841, and was buried at sea. He is chiefly remembered for his genre pictures, and his painting is much more important than his etching. In view, however, of the time when it was done it merits some attention.

He was evidently acquainted with the work of Ostade, for he produced one plate—*Exterior of a Cottage*—in that master's manner. His *Reading of the Will* is an etched version of the painting, and so is his *Benvenuto Cellini Kneeling to Pope Paul III*. In technique he was apt to be laboured and over-elaborate, and his best plate is an "unfinished" one (as it was, no doubt, considered at the time), in what appears to be pure drypoint—*The Lost Receipt*. The peculiar qualities of drypoint, the rich velvety black given by the "burr", or jagged edge, of the scratched line, were little realised in the early nineteenth century, and Wilkie's single important plate is of considerable historical interest.

The use of the "burr" was more fully understood by Geddes, a much more important figure in etching. He was born in 1783 in Edinburgh, where his

father held an appointment in the Excise Office. The father was an enthusiastic collector of engravings and etchings, but did not approve of his son's wish to be a painter. However, after his father's death in 1803, the encouragement of friends, among whom may be mentioned John Clerk, afterwards Lord Eldin, and son of the Clerk of Eldin dealt with in a previous chapter, induced the young man to come to London, and enrol himself as a student in the Royal Academy School of Drawing. Here Wilkie was his fellow-student. He made good progress, and even in his first year had a picture exhibited at the Academy. From this time he spent several months of each year in London.

Like his father, he was a collector, and particularly admired the etchings of Rembrandt and Van Dyck. It was the example of these artists, no doubt, which induced him to experiment on the copper for himself. In 1826 he published ten etchings in a pasteboard cover, with an apologetic notice which throws some light on the lack of a market for original* (non-satirical) etching at that period:

“... From the style of etching many of the Plates, the number of Copies can be extended to very few; and, at the best, should the Publication be approved of, must redound more to the credit than to the profit of the Artist; should the Public, however, not think the Publication desirable, it may be still done to his advantage, and only make him more cheerfully descend from that most proverbially expensive of all animals—a Hobby.”

He was encouraged to proceed, among others by John Sheepshanks, always a good friend to etchers. Geddes produced, in all, some forty plates, and died in London on May 5th, 1844.

The best of his plates is the portrait of his mother, after his own painting in the National Gallery of Scotland. It was produced by a mixed method involv-

**Not all were original. Some of the plates were after various paintings in Geddes' collection. See Etchings by Sir David Wilkie, R.A. and Andrew Geddes, A.R.A., by David Laing, F.S.A.S., Edinburgh, 1875.*

ing an astonishing variety of means, and the result is a very delicate and sensitive work of art, which it would be difficult to parallel in the period which elapsed between the death of Rembrandt and the first portraits of Whistler*.

Geddes's method of modelling the face by a system of little flecks may be studied also in his portraits of *Henry Broadwood* and *David Bridges, Junior*. In his portrait of *George Chalmers* he is content with a broader method for the face, but in the fur collar of the coat makes the most of the peculiar effects of drypoint. He also etched portraits of *Alexander Nasmyth* and *John Sheepshanks*, and one of his most vivid plates was the result of a twenty-minutes' sitting which was all he could induce William Martin, the Edinburgh bookseller and auctioneer, to afford him.

In landscape etching he anticipated many of the effects that were to be striven for later in the century. After one or two experiments, harking back to the methods of the seventeenth century, he reached maturity in his beautiful drypoint of *Peckham Rye*. The *Landscape* (a view on the Thames, with windmills) is another fine drypoint, but is now attributed, not to Geddes, but to Barnett. Although some of the landscapes are unfinished and some are frank failures, they well repay study, for they include examples of a use of drypoint then unknown, but a commonplace of the modern landscape etcher.

*Mr. Lumsden has analysed the technique of this plate very completely: "The technical procedure . . . was as follows: begun in drypoint; continued in mezzotint; and completed with etching, the graver and more drypoint. It is certainly by no means a pure drypoint. There is evidence of foul-biting all over the plate, and the background is obviously more than half-bitten line, as well as much of the dress." *The Art of Etching*, by E. S. Lumsden, A.R.S.A., London, 1925, p. 259.

CHAPTER V

The Old Etching Club, Samuel Palmer, etc.

ETCHING is an art which always seems to have tempted the amateur, and it showed signs in early Victorian days of developing into a craze. Even at the beginning of the nineteenth century there had been attempts, notably that of Catherine Maria Fanshawe, who was born at Shabden in Surrey in 1765 and died at Putney in 1834. Her family was in easy circumstances, her father being First Clerk of the Board of Green Cloth in the Household of George III. She was one of three sisters, all of whom had some talent for art, and she managed, in spite of deformity, ill-health, and excessively formal manners, to keep in touch with the literary and artistic movements of the day. She herself was a poetess; she had corresponded with Cowper, and her verses had been admired by Scott. Her riddle on the letter H has frequently been attributed to Byron. In the pictorial arts her talent was considerable. Her paintings do not concern us here, but her etchings have the delicacy which might be expected from her, together with a surprising strength. She is most successful, not when illustrating Ossian, but when depicting single figures in country surroundings. Her etching of a farmer's boy, holding a hayfork, with a loaded wain behind him, is a delightful plate.

Mrs. Mary Turner (*née* Palgrave), the wife of the antiquary Dawson Turner of Yarmouth, studied, with her five daughters, under J. S. Cotman, and helped him with the plates for Turner's *Account of a Tour in Normandy*, published in 1820. Mrs. Turner etched portraits and architectural subjects also.† Other ladies were at work at the same period, or earlier. Elizabeth, daughter of George III and Landgravine of Hesse-Homburg drew cupids which were engraved by P. W. Tomkins, and produced twenty-four etchings of her own*.

Elizabeth, Duchess of Rutland (died 1825), and Maria Elizabeth Amelia,

*See Catalogue of a Collection of Engravings, Etchings and Lithographs by Women, exhibited at the Grolier Club, New York, 1901.

†See One Hundred Etchings by Mrs. Dawson Turner, in the British Museum; also The Mother's Exemplar, a copy of which is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

daughter of the Duke of Bavaria, who was working about 1805, may also be mentioned, if only to prove how fashionable etching had become.

But the seal was set upon the movement by the interest of Queen Victoria, who took lessons from Sir Edwin Landseer, and who managed to interest the Prince Consort in her hobby sufficiently for him to etch after his wife's drawings, as well as to produce some original work of his own. Most of the Queen's etching was done during the first ten years of her reign. Mr. Frederick Keppel has found the right phrase for her plates when he says that "they are not very far from being as good as the etchings of Thackeray*."

Landseer's father, John Landseer, had been an etcher, and Sir Edwin himself produced a considerable number of scenes of stalking, studies of dogs and horses, and decorations for game cards. His etched work is, to the modern eye, marred by the same sentimentality which makes it difficult to appreciate his painting.

Landseer, of course, did not regard himself as an amateur. For him etching was a relaxation from painting, and it was so regarded by the majority of his contemporaries. Soon after the beginning of the Queen's reign there was formed in London the first of the etching clubs, a group of professional artists whose pretensions were ultimately to be challenged so disastrously by the amateur, Haden.

It is customary, in describing the history of etching during the nineteenth century, to dismiss the etching clubs with a single contemptuous reference. It is, however, impossible to see the "Revival," and the work of Haden and Whistler, in proper perspective if the background against which they laboured be altogether omitted. A history of art which is concerned only with supreme masterpieces certainly simplifies the task of the chronicler, but it does not lead to an historical understanding. What is called the "Old" Etching Club in particular is well worthy of the student's attention, if only because Haden himself was, for a time, one of its most active members. The Minutes of the Club were left by Horsley, the last surviving member, to his son, who in turn presented them to the Victoria and Albert Museum, in whose archives they may be consulted.

*See *The Golden Age of Engraving*, by Frederick Keppel, New York, 1919, p. 105.

The first meeting was held on Friday, February 2nd, 1838, and the original members included C. W. Cope, Henry J. Townsend, Richard Redgrave and W. Horsley, and these were joined the same year by Thomas Creswick and Thomas Webster, and shortly afterwards by Frederick Tayler, Frank Stone, Joseph Severn, Richard Ansdell, and others. Several of these men were, or were to become, Royal Academicians. They were successful artists for whom etching was only a side-line. The public was eager for their paintings; Cope's academic figures, Ansdell's melodramatic animals, Tayler's hawking parties, Webster's moralising school-boys, appeared in every exhibition. Creswick was an admirable landscapist, and Richard and Samuel Redgrave* collaborated in *A Century of Painters*, still a useful work of reference. Richard Redgrave did much to gather together at Marlborough House the collection of ornamental art which was afterwards to form the nucleus of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

There was nothing dilettante in their attitude to etching. The objects of the Etching Club were quite definite and commercial; the mere "encouragement" of the art among all and sundry was far from the members' thoughts. The most drastic rules were drawn up; meetings were to be held once a month and everyone was expected to produce a plate "carefully wrought, bit in, and proved ready for printing" on every occasion. More than two omissions were to be punished by expulsion. Simson and Herbert, two of the early members, both failed to satisfy the members and left the Club. "As a temporary measure" the period between meetings was soon increased to six weeks, and the whole history of the society resolves itself into a contest between the slackness of members and the necessity of making the rules strict enough for efficiency and elastic enough for comfort. Creswick was the energetic member; he was always devising systems of fines, or proposing that where plates were not finished in time the work should be given to others. His motions were generally passed, but members rebelled against paying half a guinea for failing to produce their etchings in time, and the resolutions were always rescinded at the next meeting.

A good friend in the early days was Sheepshanks, who provided a printing

*Samuel Redgrave was elected to the Club on March 9th, 1840, and was made honorary secretary in place of his brother.

press and valuable old paper, and generally watched over the interests of the Club. He also signified his intention of giving them an anniversary dinner, and it is recorded in the minutes that "the Club felt exceedingly gratified with the notice of a collector of such known taste, and ordered for him a copy of the current number, with an intention of selecting at some more advanced stage of their progress a number of their best productions to be presented to him."

The striking thing to the modern reader is that the members of the Club seem all to have regarded etching as a method of illustration. "What shall we illustrate next?" is the typical question arising at their meetings. In December, 1838, it was decided that the subjects for etching should be taken from *The Vicissitudes of a Soldier's Life*. There is no record that this was ever done, and the first completed work was in illustration of Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, published in 1841. For this Stone received the patronage of the Queen and Prince Albert, and Creswick managed to interest the Countess of Selkirk. The Etching Club found itself in possession of money to be divided, and the second vital problem of its existence presented itself. Was the money to be apportioned equally among members, or was so much to be allowed for each plate; or was the size of the plate to be taken into consideration? Finally a scheme was adopted which was to lead to trouble in the distant future, when Seymour Haden was to disturb the harmony of the Club. All expenses were to be paid and £25 put aside for a Club fund. The balance was to be divided in the following manner: "Each member (in the words of the Minute Book) shall be provided with a numbered list of all the plates and shall write against each omitting his own how many shares (not less than one nor more than eight) he considers due to it—and these being added up and averaged with the number of members will determine how many shares each etching is entitled to—Then the whole number of shares being added together and the sum to be shared divided thereby will give the worth of each share, and this multiplied by the number of shares adjudged to each member will give his aggregate of the division of the profits." It was a complicated system and contained within itself the germ of the Club's dissolution*. For it would only work harmoniously when all members of the

*Another constant difficulty arose from the fact that the Club was a dining club, as well as

Club had very similar ideas of what qualities they were which gave merit to an etching. So long as mere size was considered, or merely the amount of labour which had gone to the making of a plate, it was easy to estimate the just comparative reward for each, but Haden's selective line looked so easy, and was so soon accomplished, that the more old-fashioned etchers refused to consider him worthy of equal pay with their more laborious selves. Haden was the last man in the world to submit to what he considered an injustice, and after several attempts to have the rules altered he, rather angrily, left the Club.*

But Haden was not yet a member when the rules were first laboriously amended and adopted. He was not introduced until the end of 1858, and as he belongs so definitely to the "Revival," his own magnificent achievement is best discussed elsewhere.†

Other members of the Club may be briefly mentioned; Richard Redgrave, R.A., who produced etchings of forest scenes which are not without a certain melodramatic force; J. C. Horsley, R.A., better known for his campaign against the use of the nude model than for any painting or etching of his own;

an association of artists. It was very difficult to arrange matters on a satisfactory basis, as some of the members were rich, and some comparatively poor. Many systems were tried but none was very satisfactory. The original plan had been to meet in turn at the homes of members, but, as was inevitable sooner or later, a generous host provided a feast, and everybody felt compelled to do the same in turn. As early as October, 1842, the expense had become intolerable, and as a Self-Denying Ordinance, "it was determined to observe the old practice of limiting the supper to cold joints with a meat-pie, to the exclusion of Poultry, sweets and the like." In 1848 a new plan was tried; Socialism was substituted for Private Enterprise. "Resolved, on the motion of Creswick, that in future the meetings of the Club be held at The King's Arms; that instead of supping together the Members meet to dinner at half past 6 o'clock, and commence business at half past 7 o'clock on the removal of the Cloth; that the dinner be strictly limited to fish, one joint and cheese, with not more than at the rate of one bottle of Sherry to every three members present, put on with the dinner; that a cup of tea or coffee be allowed before separating and that the whole expense be defrayed from the Club funds." This was in effect a tax on absent members, and after one communist repast at the King's Arms, the system of having supper at members' houses was reverted to.

*For his letter of resignation see Seymour Haden and the Old Etching Club, by the present writer. *Bookman's Journal*, X, 1924, p. 87.

†See p. 67.

Charles West Cope, R.A., with his effective etching *Life School at the Royal Academy*; Thomas Creswick, for his somewhat sentimental landscape, full of minute detail; and H. J. Townsend and Frederick Tayler for their romantic reconstructions of the age of chivalry.

More important than all these is Samuel Palmer, an artist, who, after a period of eclipse, is beginning to come into public estimation once more. There are indeed several modern etchers who confessedly draw a certain measure of their inspiration from his work, and who regard him as a valuable corrective to the narrowness of the Haden tradition.* Palmer is, at first sight, a puzzling figure; there seems such a gulf of sentiment and capacity between the dullness of some of his water-colours and the immense vitality of some of his drawings. It is difficult to believe that the works of his "Shoreham period" are already a hundred years old; they are so modern in treatment, so bold in convention, so contemptuous of the photographic; yet they have what so much modern work lacks, the suggestion of a sensitive mind behind the sensitive fingers.

It is impossible to understand Palmer without realising the influence of Blake upon his work and upon his life. Fortunately Palmer was too true a disciple to flatter Blake by mere imitation. The result would have been a distorted Flaxman, without the elegance of Flaxman himself, and without anything of Blake's apocalyptic vision. The grandeur and the extravagance of that vision Palmer wisely eschewed. What he did derive from his discipleship of Blake was an intense consciousness of the reality behind appearances, that sense of the oneness of a visible scene which is sometimes more potent for the production of unity in a work of art than any mere external "sense of design," or theory of formal relationships.

Blake died in 1827, and the visible signs of his direct influence became fewer and fewer in Samuel Palmer's art. But although he freed himself from the Blake convention, he never lost the memory of the great stimulus which Blake had been to him, and he preserved, until the very last of his works, a curious intensity in his vision of landscape, and a capacity for infusing a scene with emotion, which it is as difficult to explain as to deny. In his youth his

* See p. 88.

great ambition had been to paint in oils, but as the somewhat penurious years of his early manhood passed, he found himself becoming more and more a water-colour painter only. His paintings, however, interesting as they are, are outside our scope, except in so far as they throw light upon the problems Palmer set himself in his etched work.

He was already forty-five when he produced a modest little plate—*The Willow*—for the approval of the “Old” Etching Club, and upon the strength of its obvious accomplishment and promise, was elected a member, being admonished however for the ruled lines in the sky. This was on Tuesday, February 19th, 1850, and Palmer received the Club for the first time at his house on March 11th, 1851. He found himself in congenial company, and etching soon absorbed so much of his time and energy that he was in danger of neglecting his more remunerative work in water-colour. “Etching, that wheedling hussy . . . has already made me rob my long-suffering employers of time which really belonged to them. . . . It is my misfortune to work slowly, not from any wish to niggle, but because I cannot otherwise get certain shimmerings of light, and mysteries of shadow; so that only a pretty good price would yield a journeyman’s wages.”* This was in a letter to P. G. Hamerton, and in another letter to him he wrote: “I can get 100 guineas for quite a small drawing which does not occupy nearly the time of some of my etchings.”† Significant enough of the lack of market for etching, and of the patient elaboration of Palmer’s work.‡

In his painting Palmer made some attempt at least to adapt his style to what the public seemed, for the moment, to require, but etching was for him a labour of love, from which he scarcely expected anything but the pleasure of maturing his own conception, and lingering, sometimes for months, over the details of his design. His first plate, *The Willow*, was a mere transcript of one of his tree studies, but in *The Skylark* he already faced some of the problems and obtained some of the effects which were to occupy him throughout his etching career.

*See *Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer*, by A. H. Palmer, 1881, p. 377. †*Ibid*, p. 315.

‡The reverse is now true. Many an artist can sell a single proof of one of his etchings far more readily, and sometimes for more money, than he can sell the original drawing.

The most difficult problem he had to face was the adequate rendering of skies. He was not content, like so many later, and perhaps wiser, etchers to leave the paper untouched, except for one calligraphic cloud, or a graduated film of ink left on the plate while printing. He used every technical resource at his command to obtain tone in his skies, and early proofs of, for example, *The Herdsman*, exist to show with what infinite labour he produced one of his most successful effects. In *The Skylark*, also, is already seen the preference for light coming towards the spectator, gilding the tops of the ears of corn and the edge of the standing figure, which Palmer manifests in nearly all his compositions. There was a peculiar fascination to his eye in the row of illuminated curls of wool on the top of a sheep's back, as in *The Sleeping Shepherd*, *Christmas*, and *The Lonely Tower*.

There was a deep poetic quality in Palmer's mind, and it is, no doubt, just this quality which repels many modern critics, fearful of the charge of literature. Yet Palmer was no literary painter, nor are his etchings, although some of the best of them were conceived as illustrations to Milton, mere illustrations, valueless apart from an appropriate text. An etching like *The Bellman*, so typical and so complete, carries the heaviest possible cargo of literary association and poetic sentiment. From a description it might sound as if the artist had merely fastened together a bundle of "properties"—a village at twilight, a thatched cottage, an arbour, cattle in stall, a square-towered church, distant mountains, a rising moon, lighted windows, and the bellman going his rounds. All these, however, are combined and harmonised, melted together as in a crucible, and built up into a curiously complete and satisfying design. The *Early Ploughman* is, perhaps, his most generally admired plate.

Palmer was both distressed and discouraged by the quarrels which Haden had introduced into the "Old" Etching Club. His removal to the country also cut him off from his former associates, and after the death of his eldest son he became something of a hermit. Palmer was as dissatisfied as Haden with the printing of his etchings done by mechanics, who regarded them as so many visiting cards to be wiped clean. For a time he regarded it as hopeless to express himself again in what had become his favourite medium; but when, with

Goulding's help, he had a press of his own, and the same master-printer instructed his son, A. H. Palmer, in the mysteries of printing, the old artist's hopes rose again. He had occupied his leisure in producing an *English Version of the Eclogues of Virgil*. This he proposed to illustrate with ten etchings. As Mr. A. H. Palmer says:* "Having completed twelve plates in about thirty years, he, now, at the age of seventy-four, deliberately made preparations and bought the plates for ten more." Only one of these was destined to be completed—*Early Morning, or Opening the Fold*. He was still at work on the designs for the rest when, on May 24th, 1881, he died.

The "Old" Etching Club was already languishing, although there had been a momentary burst of energy in 1879. New negotiations with the Art Union of London came to nothing. William Holman Hunt, who had been elected during the session of 1855-56, proposed that the next work of the Club should be "a series of portraits of its Members, each Member doing his own, or another Member's portrait as may be arranged." These portraits were to be based on those of Van Dyck and, had the project matured, might have anticipated the work of Strang. However, only one portrait was produced—a portrait of Hunt, by himself—and that not until nearly three years later, just before the collapse of the Club.

Official recognition was not lacking, members even being requested for proofs to be exhibited at the Royal National Gallery in Berlin; but the public demand for the kind of work which the Club supplied was falling off, and Cope's proposal that "the old subject of illustration, 'Proverbs,' be commenced by the Club" came to nothing. There was very little done between 1879 and 1885. The last recorded meeting took place on January 20th of the latter year. "Members present: Hook, Millais, Horsley, Calderon, O'Neill and Hodgson. No business."

The Junior Etching Club had a shorter and less eventful history. It was founded on June 17th, 1857, with the avowed object of being "similar in its

*See Victoria and Albert Museum, Catalogue of an Exhibition of Drawings, Etchings and Woodcuts by Samuel Palmer and other Disciples of William Blake, with an Introduction and Notes by A. H. Palmer, London, 1926, p. 85.

objects and constitution to 'The Etching Club' already existing." The moving spirit seems to have been J. Luard; and Charles Keene, W. Severn and A. J. Lewis were among those who attended the first meeting. Members subsequently elected included John Everitt Millais, Henry Moore, John Tenniel (the famous *Punch* artist), A. and E. Solomon and A. W. Hunt. The last three resigned almost immediately. Dante Gabriel Rossetti was approached, but he declined to join the club. Ford Madox Brown, after some hesitation, declined also.

The "Old" Etching Club looked with great benevolence upon the new, and sent it, as a present, a number of its own productions. This was at the end of 1857; and it is interesting to note, at the same period, that a proposal by Severn and Millais "that ladies be admitted as members of the Club" was defeated "by a large majority."

At a General Meeting held on Wednesday, 6th July, 1859, with Lord Gerald Fitzgerald in the chair, among the names down for membership was that of James Abbott Whistler, proposed by "Mr. Rossiter," seconded by Lord Bury. On Wednesday, 2nd November, he was unanimously elected.

Whistler, however, does not seem to have greeted his election to the Junior Etching Club with any great enthusiasm. He did not attend a meeting until 2nd May, 1860, and he attended very seldom afterwards. No doubt he was completely out of sympathy with the artistic aims of most of the members, who looked upon etching as a method of illustration. He was to have contributed a plate entitled *Black-eyed Susan* to a *Collection of National and Patriotic Songs*, but never did so, and the whole project was abandoned three years later. The following extracts from the Minutes are of interest in showing how it was that Whistler came to dignify the publications of the Junior Etching Club with examples of his etched work:—

November 7th, 1860.

"The Hon. Sec. stated that Messrs. Day & Co. had recently assured him that the collection of Miscellaneous Etchings which they had purchased would be published very shortly; the delay having been caused by the absence of Mr. Luard's plates (Luard having died), which they wished to have replaced by others. Mr. Crowe and Mr. Whistler had been ap-

plied to to supply the deficiency and had partly promised to furnish the necessary plates."

January 2nd, 1861.

"The Hon. Sec. reported. . . that he had delivered to Messrs. Day & Co. two plates contributed by Mr. Whistler to replace those promised by the late Mr. Luard, and that they had promised to proceed forthwith with the publication of the work."

Frederick Walker was elected in January, 1862, but the hey-day of etched *illustration* was already over. It was found that a series of miscellaneous etchings paid better than illustrating an author, and Whistler proposed, in June of the same year, that a periodical should be started for the purpose of publishing members' plates. This project came to nothing, and Whistler grew more and more out of sympathy with the objects of the club. Most of the members were more devoted to illustration than to etching, and indeed cared very little for the medium employed. On Wednesday, 27th April 1864, occurs the significant entry:—

The Club is dissolved, and it is resolved that a new club be formed called "Etchers and Sketchers."

The Junior Etching Club, as such, had ceased to exist, and its short history has been worth recapitulating here almost entirely because of Whistler's connection with it.

None of the other members was of very much importance as an etcher, with the notable exception of Charles Keene, who has only recently begun to receive the attention which his work with the needle deserves.

Mr. Lumsden* was one of the first to stress the importance of Charles Keene as an etcher. It is only necessary to look through the portfolio of his etchings, printed by Goulding, and published in 1903, to realise not only that he was a superb draughtsman (so much was evident from his drawings) but that he had a rare understanding of the possibilities of etching, and a real interest in the technical problems of the craft. His finest plate—*A Lady Reading a Book*—is a proof of his exquisite sense of the balance of lights and darks; while his *Coast*

*See *The Art of Etching*, by E. S. Lumsden, London, 1925, p. 270.

Scene, Devon, boats in foreground shows how conscious he was that etching is a line process, and that the white of the paper can be made to play an important part in the composition.

His plates are few (some twenty odd in all) and it is a pity that so many of them are historical reconstructions—figures in eighteenth century, or Elizabethan, costume—but he has left enough to win him a permanent place in the history of etching.

CHAPTER VI

Whistler

IN disentangling the threads which go to make up the tradition of etching it is impossible to follow any rigidly chronological sequence. The Etching Clubs have been followed to their dissolution because their imperviousness to foreign influences (Haden, of course, excepted) enables them to be treated as a coherent whole. We have seen that their work is by no means to be dismissed with a contemptuous gesture, but at the same time, it is idle to deny that the main impulse of modern etching came from France.

The chief intermediary was Whistler. The story of Whistler's life has been told so often, and his works appraised by previous writers so fully, that any modern commentator must find some difficulty in being neither commonplace nor obviously untrue. Of Whistler's greatness as an etcher there can be no two opinions. Anyone who, disquieted by the violence of Pennell, and, conscious of Whistler's limitations as a painter, as well as of his frequent pettiness as a man, should really set out to examine Whistler's etchings for himself, in the actual proofs where these are available, or in the admirable series of reproductions issued by the Grolier Club, must be compelled at last to admit Whistler's immense superiority to anyone else but Rembrandt.

Such points in his life may be mentioned as seem to have a bearing upon his career as an etcher. He was born in 1834, and the year 1851 found him a cadet at West Point. Three years later he was dismissed for deficiency in chemistry, and he entered the engraving division of the United States Coast Survey in Washington. It was here that he gained his first experience as an etcher, and so laid the foundation of much good work, in the early years which might otherwise have been wasted. A disagreement with the authorities led to his relinquishing a post which could never have been congenial, and at the end of 1855 he was in Paris to study art. A brief survey is necessary of the influences to which he found himself subjected.

The revival of French etching was partly the result of the Romantic Movement in painting (Delacroix's etchings are slight and hasty, but perhaps, for that very reason, useful to his successors) and partly of the revival in landscape

painting, due in no small measure to the influence of Bonington and Constable. Bonington himself produced only one line etching, and that was finished by Thomas Shotter Boys.* Constable's etchings may have been known to some of his French contemporaries, but are unlikely to have had much influence. We have seen how the Norwich School produced etchers as well as painters (or rather, painters who also etched) and the same is true of the Barbizon School in France. Mr. Hind has pointed out the parallel which exists between the work of Crome and that of Théodore Rousseau, both of whom derived, in etching at least, from Ruysdael.

Charles Jacque is more important, not only because of the large number of plates he executed, but because of the enormous influence he was to have upon subsequent workers, and in particular, upon Whistler. He was already at the height of his talent by 1845, thus forestalling by several years the achievement of his contemporaries, and it is with him that the modern movement may be said to begin. During his long life, which almost spanned the nineteenth century (1813-1894), he produced, in addition to his paintings, more than 500 etchings. His plates are for the most part animal subjects (especially pigs)†, and scenes from peasant life, and he owes a good deal in the treatment of his chosen themes to the example of such seventeenth century Dutch etchers as Paul Potter, Adrian van de Velde, and Karel du Jardin. His importance consists in his having re-discovered the formula of these masters, and applied it to the life of his own time, without affectation or conscious archaism. Whistler's debt to him, even in the detail of some of his earliest plates, is very considerable.‡

By the time Whistler came to Paris, the etching revival in France was in full swing. He entered himself as a student in the *atelier* of Gleyre, but was more intimate with the followers of Courbet and men like Fantin-Latour and Le-

*See Richard Parkes Bonington, *His Life and Work*, by A. Dubuisson, Translated with Annotations by C. E. Hughes, London, 1924.

†He was also called by the De Goncourts, "*le maître au cochon*."

‡Mr. Martin Hardie was one of the first to point out the close similarity between such plates as Jacque's "*Portrait de ma petite fille*" and Whistler's "*Little Arthur*," or between Jacque's "*Recureuse*" and Whistler's "*Marchande de Moutarde*." See Frederick Goulding, *Master Printer of Copper Plates*, by Martin Hardie, A.R.E., Stirling, 1910.

gros. Etching was "in the air." Daubigny's portfolios had appeared in 1851-1852, Corot and Millet had already produced their early work, and Meryon, in 1856, came to the end of his most brilliant period. Bracquemond had already etched some of his best plates.

We must not forget, in this connection, the interesting work of two etchers whose influence was to appear later—Adolphe Hervier and Rodolphe Bresdin (called Chien-Caillou). Hervier left some two hundred plates, executed for the most part between 1843 and 1850. Bresdin was an eccentric solitary, who lived, by preference, in cowsheds and hovels, but was known to the Bohemian, artistic world of Paris. His work is marked by a macabre intensity and rare imaginative force, but it was scarcely of the kind to appeal to Whistler.*

The latter threw himself into the movement with characteristic energy. It is thought that he may have met the other etchers of his time, with the exception of Meryon, at the home of August Delâtre. He etched his own portrait, and in 1858 the *French Set* appeared. Many of these plates had been made on a trip to Alsace and Germany in 1856, in company with the painter Ernest Delaunoy. The rest of the series comprised etchings of the Haden family (his half-sister having married Haden) made from pencil portraits.

The *French Set* was an amazing achievement for a young man of twenty-four. Whistler was to etch very many, and very different, plates, later in life, but had he done nothing but this portfolio he would still take a high place among modern etchers. *The Street at Saverne* is already masterly, in spite of the burked distance, where the street ends in a meaningless patch.† But the houses themselves are treated with a sense of the threatening and sinister which is worthy of Meryon, and the shadow-patterns on the white walls are admirably disposed.

La Vieille aux Loques strikes a very different note, a note of human sympathy rare enough in Whistler's work. The old woman is seen asleep in her chair in a doorway, with various kitchen utensils ranged on the walls beyond

*See Rodolphe Bresdin, called Chien-Caillou, by Claude Roger-Marx, *Print Collector's Quarterly*, XIV (1927), p. 251.

†This is only so in the first and second states. In the third and later states the patch of shadow is gone, but the result is not much more satisfactory.

her. The white of the cap (which forms the "eye" of the design) is repeated in the reflected lights of pots and pans, cunningly disposed, and the whole composition is given a pleasing asymmetry by placing the door opening to the left of the plate. It is astonishing how much can be seen in the transparent darkness, how clearly the various bottles and baskets can be picked out; but what rivets the attention is the extraordinary delicacy of the modelling of the face. The hands, too, are very subtle; and the weariness of the old woman's pose as well as the lightness of her slumber are admirably rendered. The artist who could etch this plate had already made great strides in the delineation of the human figure, and was almost ready for his subsequent triumphs in portrait painting.

The Kitchen depends on more architectural qualities for its success—the massing of the darks, the effectiveness of the window in the deep recess—but even here the bent back of the old *cuisinière* is most sympathetically drawn and the pots and pans are treated with infinite care for their qualities of surface, their bright sheen or their dull lustre.

Whistler's feeling for character, to be subsequently somewhat obscured by purely decorative aims, is shown to great advantage in two such plates as *Fumette* and *Gretchen at Heidelberg*, where the differences of nationality as well as temperament in the two girls are made plain for every eye to see, without a trace of caricature, and with a real understanding of the charm of both.

In 1859 Whistler began a series of etchings of scenes on the Lower Thames, choosing his subjects among the wharves of Limehouse and Wapping. It was astonishing to his contemporaries that an artist could deliberately choose to depict the ugly and the sordid; the "vice of subject" was rampant, and the public had not yet learned that a "pretty scene," or "a picturesque corner" can be a positive hindrance in the making of pictorial art. Even Pennell talks of "inartistic subjects," as if the phrase had any meaning.

To the modern eye there is nothing ugly about Whistler's barges and ware-houses; they are, indeed, as "picturesque" as it is safe for etchings to be, and Whistler knew how to make the most of a pattern of interlacing masts, and revelled in the varying textures of the tumble-down buildings along the water-

side. The influence of the series has been immense, whole generations of etchers having seen river-shipping through Whistler's eyes.

Such a plate as *Old Westminster Bridge* reveals his capacity. The silhouette of the Houses of Parliament, the long line of the bridge itself, cut by the two black sails, the ferry boat in the middle distance, are all indicated with admirable precision and economy. The design itself has been the father of more subsequent etchings than it would be gracious to recount, and even its extreme simplicity (in contrast to the rest of *The Thames Set*) was a portent in 1859. The famous *Black Lion Wharf* is notable for the delicacy of texture in the old houses in the background, and for the sketchiness of the foreground, a sketchiness which—ridiculed in Whistler's own day—seems natural enough to a generation aware of the impossibility of focusing the eye upon near and distant objects at the same time. Anyone who still believes that Whistler's drawing was consistently careless can be recommended to study the line of houses along the water-side. Bricks, tiles, planks, beams, are all accorded separate treatment, and every advantage is taken of each nook and cranny of the roofs, seen in fantastic outline against the white sky. The general design is one of which Whistler was at that time very fond—an elongated U lying on its side. This can be seen even more plainly in his etching of *The Pool*.

Opinions will always vary as to which is the finest in the series. To the present writer the plate known as *The Lime Burner* is among the great masterpieces of etching. The beauty of the detail is as great as in the *French Set*, and there is a more confident breadth of design. The same motif is, to some extent, repeated. It might be described as a series of frames, one enclosing the other, the smallest being the glimpse of the Thames with its shipping seen through a square opening bisected by a vertical line, and the largest formed by the dark roof of the shed with its vertical supports. This roof and part of its supporting verticals Whistler afterwards cut away, producing a completely different design, more concentrated, but not more successful than the first. The whole plate is a composition of rectangles, emphasised by the four ladders, and set off by the oval of the sieve, which seems to have been placed beside the human figure to bear its curves company. There is exquisite work on the floor and in the rafters, and

the ship and houses in the far distance are drawn with beautiful precision and delicacy. Of its own kind this plate is as perfect as anything Whistler ever did.

The "Thames Set" was not published as a set until 1871.* In 1863, Whistler, who had been dividing his time between London and Paris, settled definitely in London, and for the next seven years etched very little, his time being fully occupied with his paintings. But he had already etched several portraits of abiding value. He himself declared that if he had to decide which of his plates was the best, he would choose to rest his reputation upon *Annie Haden*. It is indeed a fresh and delightful study of girlhood, and the design itself is solid without heaviness, and is as well "arranged" as a study of architecture. All the grace of childhood, and all the melancholy of adolescence are in this straight little figure with the voluminous skirts and the round hat.

Much has been made of what is called his inhumanity. He did indeed tend to regard the human figure as a decorative patch of colour, and even went out of his way to insist on this point of view, by giving his canvases such names as *Caprice in Purple and Gold*, *Symphony in White*, or *Arrangement in Grey*. The deeper emotions of life meant very little to him—he was the wilful Butterfly—yet of one aspect of human nature he had a profound and seemingly instinctive understanding. The modern woman was comprehended by Whistler with an imaginative sympathy perhaps never equalled before or since. He depicted, with both brush and needle, a whole series of women, elegant to the point of fragility, sensitive to the verge of being neurotic, delicate, complicated, rather melancholy, of which *Finette*, the dancer, may stand as an example.

Perhaps he and Burne-Jones together are responsible for the persistence of a type which still competes with the boyish beauty of the post-war ideal. In any case, there can be little doubt of Whistler's own preferences, and one has only to examine the various states of *Finette* to realise what loving care went to the modelling of the tired eyes and the somewhat drawn mouth.

But Whistler's power of modelling the human face was not confined to his

* For an account of the circumstances see *The Life of J. M. Whistler*, by E. R. and J. Pennell, 5th Ed. 1911, p. 107.

portraits of women. The forehead of Drouet is masterly, although Whistler himself thought the lines too heavy, and burnished them down. His self-portrait, in the wide-brimmed hat, is too well known to need comment, but it would be difficult to insist too strongly on the penetration, as well as the beauty, of such plates as *Becquet*, the violoncellist, or *Ross Winans*, playing an accordion, or the portrait of F. R. Leyland.

Whistler's friendship with F. R. Leyland, the ship-owner, came, like almost all Whistler's relationships, to a more or less violent end; but Leyland had, at one time, some influence on his development as an artist, and it was for him that Whistler designed the famous Peacock Room. He also produced a series of etchings of the Leyland family, and such plates as *Speke Hall*, and *Speke Shore*, done at Leyland's house near Liverpool. In *Florence Leyland* he recaptured something of that sympathy with young girlhood which had made his *Annie Haden* so indubitable a masterpiece; and in his *Elinor Leyland* there is a tomboyishness in piquant contrast to the grave grace of the older sister. To the same period belong the best of the etched and drypoint nudes, with their seductive grace and extreme sensitiveness of line. The most attractive perhaps is *Tillie* in the pose used for his oil-painting of *The Three Figures: Pink and Grey*.

The immediate result of Ruskin's diatribe against Whistler's *Falling Rocket at Cremorne* was to make it more difficult for the latter to sell his pictures. The Pennells* have described how the artist's friends, especially Howell, induced him to print the plates he had already etched, and to etch new ones. These plates bridge the gap between his early *Thames Set* and his later "Venetian" manner, and mark his progress towards much greater freedom of handling, towards what was regarded at the time as excessive sketchiness. But however "sketchy" Whistler became, his drawing was never careless. It is only necessary to look at an etching like his well-known *St. James's Street* to see how closely every figure is observed and how faithfully set down, in spite of the apparent hastiness of the work. The people in the street are minute, yet as full of individuality as the figures of Callot. The swagger of the silk-hatted gentleman in the middle of the pavement, the solidity of the policeman in the middle of the road, are portrayed

*See *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, by E. R. and J. Pennell, New and Revised Edition. The Fifth. London, 1911, p. 154.

with an extraordinary economy of line. The hansom cabs are barely indicated, and yet each is complete, and moving. The etcher has even managed to suggest the different motions of the various vehicles, the smooth progress of the victoria, the staccato movement of the hansom, the lumbering of the waggon. Worthy of especial note is the hansom turning out of the side street on the right, the horse's head pulled round towards the palace, and the other hansom drawn up at the curb, with one wheel in the gutter. The whole street is alive with moving traffic, and on either side rise in contrast the dignified solid buildings of London clubs. An Englishman, who can overcome the slight difficulty of the reversed design (Whistler etched direct on the plate, and never troubled to reverse) must accept this as a most successful attempt to capture the spirit of the famous thoroughfare.

If Whistler was damaged by Ruskin's criticism, he was ruined by the result of his libel action against him. In 1879 his home and its contents were sold, and a year later his collection of porcelain and many of his own works. But the disaster had one good result, for it led to his acceptance of the offer of the Fine Art Society to go to Venice and etch a series of plates for publication. He reached Venice in September 1879, and stayed for a little over a year, executing in that period, in addition to work in other media, forty etchings.

In the Venice sets Whistler reached the manner which is regarded as his most characteristic. It is not necessarily his best, yet it is undoubtedly his chief contribution to the etching tradition. The powers of selection, of reticence, and of understatement, which he had already exemplified in some of his earlier plates, were here pushed to an extreme. His line became curiously broken, his use of shadow sparing. His *Little Venice* is a panorama taking in the whole of the city, with vast spaces of almost white sky above and vaster spaces of white water below. Of course these white spaces were neither entirely white nor entirely empty, for Whistler was a master of printing, and understood all the effects which could be obtained by manipulating a slight film of ink left on the plate. The sky, too, (in *Little Venice*) is flecked with clouds, not one of which, in spite of the apparently careless drawing, is put in by hazard; and the space occupied by the water is cut up by a skilful arrangement of mooring poles, the "butterfly" itself being placed with infinite care just where it is needed to balance the design.

In *Nocturne* he essayed a new effect, although the technical manner of this etching had already been suggested in such a plate as *Little Putney*, No. 2. The shading is done almost entirely by means of short *vertical* strokes drawn, apparently, with extreme rapidity, and the effect is the production of a kind of haze on the water, and, in spite of the absence of any carefully graduated difference of tone, a feeling of immense distance in the long line of the coast. It is interesting to note that in this plate, *Nocturne*, is implicit the whole of the technical method of a modern etcher like James McBey. In the two plates of *The Traghetto*, he strikes a different note, harking back, with much looser handling, it is true, to the pre-occupation of the *French Set*. The dark archway in the middle of the plate is very reminiscent of some of his earliest work, and the square of light seen beyond the dark tunnel is the same motif as that treated in *The Lime-Burner*. This Venetian etching was never a complete success, and the number of changes Whistler made on the two plates is evidence of the difficulty he found in wrestling with the subject. He tried the same theme again in *The Beggars*, pursuing the effect he wanted through no less than nine states; and, as if fascinated by the pattern of one bright rectangle within a dark, he attempted it yet once more in his *Doorway and Vine*, ten states of which are now known to exist.

His more characteristic Venetian manner is, however, seen to advantage in a plate like *The Mast*, light and open in handling, the artist taking, obviously, more pleasure in design than in texture. It is only necessary to compare the dark houses on the right of the mast with the buildings in the background of any plate of the *Thames Set* to realise how little Whistler cared, at the time of his stay in Venice, for the surface textures which had interested him in his early manhood.

In the well-known plate *Turkeys*, line has become calligraphy. The birds themselves are not so much drawn as mentioned, indicated by a single line, which is not, of course, the outline of crude silhouette, but a line which includes and summarises the interior modelling as well. The figure of the girl in the foreground is beautifully drawn with an inimitable lightness of touch; and the hand-rail, the vine trellis and the people seated under it take their part in the design so quietly that they hardly exist by themselves at all.

In *San Giorgio* Whistler reverted to the motif of a forest of masts against the sky which he had already exploited in *Billingsgate*; and in *Nocturne: Palaces*, he carried to its logical conclusion the combination of vertical, broken shading, and heavily inked plate which, effective as it is, has had a disastrous effect upon some of his followers, and has been responsible at last for the modern reaction towards a cleaner, more graver-like technique.

The Venetian etchings are an inexhaustible study for those who would wish to understand not only the master's own development, but the history of etching since his time. They are the crown of his own achievement, but they have not always been good examples for his disciples, and it would, in the opinion of the present writer, be a mistake to rest his reputation more heavily upon his later than upon his earlier work. In the later Venice etchings, in the work done at Amsterdam, in France, and in London towards the end of his life, there is much that is excellent, little that is new. His power of summary statement is magnificently shown in *Rochester Row*, and an almost childish simplicity of means is sufficient to indicate the remote bustle of *Troop Ships*. The later Whistlerian method could be pushed little further than it is in the plate of the *Railway Station, Voves*. The only way to advance from such a position is to retreat, and the retreat is now in full swing. Yet Whistler remains one of the supreme masters of etching for all time, and he, more than any other worker, more even than Seymour Haden, raised the art from the indifference into which it had fallen to the universal recognition which it enjoys to-day.

CHAPTER VII

Haden, Legros, Strang, etc.

TO return to the main stream of the etching tradition in modern times is always to return to Haden. Palmer, on the one hand, pushes etching to the verge of a tone process; Whistler in his Venice set pushes it to the point of calligraphy. Haden keeps always to the middle way, and it is because this is so that it has been necessary to follow some of the more important branches to their conclusion before tracing the growth of the main stem. Haden, more than anyone else, represents that main stem. Hamerton remarked, long ago, that his manner was so entirely in harmony with the nature of the art, that no man's work, except Rembrandt's, was a safer example.

Haden's earliest plates had been produced before Whistler began to etch,* but it was the enthusiasm of his brother-in-law that blew his smouldering interest into flame. The two men were still on friendly terms when Whistler's *Douze Eaux-Fortes d'après Nature* (commonly known as "The French Set") appeared in November, 1858. The frequent visits of Whistler to the house, and the fact that he was etching the children (*Annie Haden* is one of his greatest plates) must have made it easy for Haden to take up the needle too. His hand was already trained by his work as a surgeon, and he learned to work direct upon the plate by Whistler's example. Haden etched three plates of his family: *Arthur*, *Dasha* (his wife) and *A Lady Reading*, which was also a portrait of his wife. This last plate was done at the same time as Whistler's *Reading by Lamp-light*, and Mr. Salaman suggests, very aptly,† that it was the comparison of these two etchings which determined Haden not to compete with Whistler in figure subjects but to confine himself to pure landscape. To this resolution, conscious or not, Haden was almost entirely faithful, and his decision, wise for himself, had the unfortunate result that the large body of etchers who were ultimately to draw their inspiration from him, were apt to feel themselves bound by a similar limitation.

In landscape work Haden matured very quickly. Already in 1859, he had

*i.e., in 1843-4 when he produced six plates of scenes in Italy.

†See *The Etchings of Sir Francis Seymour Haden, P.R.E.*, by Malcolm C. Salaman, London, 1923, p. 5.

etched the small plate of *Kensington Gardens* which showed his delight in the shadow patterns cast by trees, and in the same year he elaborated the same motif in the drypoint of *Mytton Hall*, an early masterpiece. Trees he always loved, and he had an astonishing capacity for expressing their varying textures by the simplest means, as in *Sbere Mill Pond*, or the sketch (for it is no more) of *Sonning Gravel Pit*.

His recognition of the fact (so neglected by his English contemporaries) that there was no need to cover every inch of a plate with bitten work, was seen for the first time in *Egham*, where the white, untouched paper, with its skirting shadows, represents the still water so much more completely than an elaboration of lines could do. In Whistler this use of white spaces was later to be carried to almost excessive lengths, but Haden was always aware of its possibilities and continued to use them throughout his etching career.

Haden had an exquisite feeling for weather, and for the atmosphere of places. What could be more subtle than his *Early Morning, Richmond*, where the paleness of the sunlight is suggested by the haze that seems to hang over the distance, and its golden quality by the brightly lit bosses and furrows of the tree-stems near at hand? Or his *Water-Meadow*, which is so very wet, both above and below; or his *Sunset in Ireland* (perhaps his most famous plate), where the trees are so full of shadow (given by the rich drypoint burr) and the water so full of light?

Haden's busy professional life made etching a thing to be squeezed into odd moments of the day. Yet with all this, his work, though sometimes sketchy, and always by intention unelaborated, never looks hurried or incomplete. "Concentration and reticence" were indeed visible in all his plates, and he had already a power of "selective line" and summary statement in which few have been his equals. He could, on occasion, work with astonishing rapidity, a rapidity which was to prove a constant source of annoyance to his fellow-members of the Etching Club. Although *le temps ne fait rien à l'affaire*, and there is no more merit in great speed of execution than in excessive slowness, it is at least interesting to note that Haden on one occasion drew five etchings on the copper in a single day, and that one of these, *Kilgaren Castle*, is a masterpiece. The beauty of the design, the contrast between the dark trees of the left bank and the sunlit bare castle on the right, the way in which the rock-forms are suggested, the swirl

of the river just indicated by half-a-dozen apparently careless lines, all show Haden at his best as an etcher. The plate has been the father of many similar attempts. In fact Brangwyn himself has learned not a little from it in many of his etchings; only, he has made his castle twice as high and his rocks twice as beetling, and his etched lines twice as wide and deep, and multiplied the height and width of the plate by ten, without adding anything to the bigness of the design, or the dramatic force of the composition.

The publication, in Paris, of Haden's *Etudes*, and their subsequent success in London, made his fame as an etcher. In particular, the public admired his *Sunset on the Thames*, a fine etching with drypoint additions which his enemies were to describe as an "Explosion in a Gas-Factory." The effect is more melodramatic than Haden usually wished to be, and his cloud convention was simplified to the point of daring, but his setting sun holds its place, it does not start out of the picture, and the dark hull of the vessel striking across the glowing water, the shadows of the trees, and the way in which the motion of the river is suggested by horizontal lines slanting to the left, make a plate the imaginative content of which is as satisfying as the certainty of the design.

In 1870 Haden etched his most famous, and (financially) most successful plate, the *Breaking-up of the Agamemnon*. Its popularity was enormous, although it may be doubted whether he could ever have received the 2,500 guineas which Hamerton declared had been the fruits of the first state alone.* In any case this triumph of Haden's had something to do with the breaking up of the "Old" Etching Club, for the man who could earn large sums of money by a single plate, rapidly executed, was not likely to accept the valuation of his fellow-members who thought of etching in terms of "so-much per hour." Haden was to remain a member of the Club for eight years longer, but there is no doubt that he became increasingly impatient with those whom he regarded as standing in the way of the etching revival; and they, in their turn, could hardly but be jealous of the success of the amateur.

Haden, however, was beginning to be looked upon as something more than

*See Dr. Nazeby Harrington's analysis of the sales in *A Book of British Etching*, by W. S. Sparrow, London, 1926.

an etcher; indeed he was already on his way to be accepted as a kind of Pope in the art. This his own clear views and authoritarian temperament made inevitable, and so completely did his opinions prevail that, in a history of modern etching, he is even more important as a propagandist than as an artist. His reputation as an authority on the etchings of Rembrandt helped to reinforce the teaching of his other publications, in particular of his valuable work *About Etching* published in 1879, and his pamphlet, *The Relative Claims of Etching and Engraving to rank as Fine Arts and to be represented as such in the Royal Academy* (1883). It was he in fact who imposed upon the growing body of etchers in England the orthodox doctrine which persisted, with few modifications, until recently. What his doctrine was, was laid down clearly in the preface which he contributed to an exhibition of etchings lent by himself to the Fine Art Society in 1879.* He had a deep-rooted prejudice against line-engraving, declaring roundly that "the comparison of the etching-needle with the burin is the comparison of the pen with the plough."† He was opposed to the preliminary sketch, holding that the etcher should work from nature, with a rapid execution, not lingering over details.

This position has now been very generally abandoned. Some interesting opinions were brought to light by the *questionnaire* which Mr. Lumsden sent round to some of the leading modern etchers;‡ very few work entirely from nature, chiefly because very few preserve the effect of sketchiness at which Haden always aimed. But Haden's doctrine was perhaps the best at the time, as most of his contemporaries tended to over-elaboration in their etched work, and even attempted to imitate the textures and the surface effects of oil-painting.

The greater part of Haden's doctrine had been elaborated as early as 1864, when he wrote an open letter to Philippe Burty, the French critic who was the first to appreciate his talent, a letter which Burty published in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. After describing himself as the declared enemy of all academies,

* *About Etching*, Part I. Notes by Mr. Seymour Haden on a Collection of Etchings and Engravings by the Great Masters lent by him to the Fine Art Society, London, 1879.

† *For the re-action against this view, see later, p. 107.*

‡ See *The Art of Etching* by E. S. Lumsden, London, 1925, p. 325, *et seq.*

Haden goes on: "Quant à la pratique de l'art, je n'accorde qu'une place relativement secondaire à la supériorité technique, et à toutes ces qualités qui se communiquent par la tradition, et qui sont, par conséquent, à la portée de tout le monde. L'artiste doit se rendre maître du procédé au point de donner une belle forme à sa pensée. Qu'il aille trop loin, et les moyens deviendraient le but; les sentiments et la pensée, au lieu de dominer, seraient emportés par la facilité. Je ne fais aucun cas non plus d'un travail trop minutieux. L'élaboration d'un détail absorbe du temps. Dépenser trop de temps sur un tableau, c'est affaiblir sa conception, enterrer son inspiration. Le premier jet émane de l'artiste, l'élaboration est la part de l'ouvrier."

The doctrine bears some signs of the impatience of the amateur. Haden, in fact, wilfully simplified his problem, and admits this with admirable frankness: "si personnellement je préfère le paysage, c'est parce que je le sens plus abordable." He then goes on to describe his manner of work. The copper having been lightly covered with a ground, he began by sketching in the main lines of his composition with the blunt end of his etching needle, and the same day he strove to finish the work with the sharper end. He even declares that those of his works which were not finished in one day were neither strong nor harmonious. He tended in this to make his own preference a rule for universal application. Not many modern etchers finish their plates in a single day.

A particularly valuable part of Haden's propaganda work was his insistence on the enormous importance of careful printing. He believed that it should be done by the etcher himself—printing was an integral part of his art—or if that were impossible, by some specialised and competent printer such as Delâtre or Goulding.

The members of the Old Etching Club regarded Haden as being very fussy on this point, although some of them, especially Palmer, were very grateful for the renewed confidence which good printing gave them. The manuscript Minutes, already drawn upon, provide some interesting sidelights on Haden's eagerness to impart his enthusiasm to his fellow-members. In fact he first came in contact with the Club on an evening devoted to the question of printing. The following entry occurs under the date, Tuesday, 16th November, 1858:

"The Club commenced their session by a meeting at Cope's, present Palmer, Creswick, R. Redgrave, Cope, Taylor, O'Neill, Hook, Palmer (sic) and the Secretary (i.e., S. Redgrave). . . .

"Cope introduced to the Club Mons. Delatre, who has a reputation in Paris as a printer of Etchings, and the Club discussed with him the printing of their plates, which he thought capable of a much more artistic treatment, and that far more might be done by the printer—Mr. Haydon (sic) was also present.

"The Club resolved to send M. Delatre . . . nine plates that he might print some experimental proofs in the mode he proposed."

The mis-spelling of Haden's name is a proof how little he was known to the professional artists who comprised the membership of the Etching Club. He was soon, however, to be more familiar, although two years elapsed before he was (on Tuesday 4th December, 1860) unanimously elected a member. After another two years he was still trying, with but little success, to interest the rest of the Club in the printing of etchings. An entry in the Minutes under Tuesday, 17th February, 1863 is significant:

"At a meeting held this Evening at Haden's—present Hook, Creswick Ansdell, R. Redgrave, Cope, Millais, Haden and the Secretary—

"Haden had prepared his printing press for proving plates—as was notified to each member—but no plates were brought—or any business done."

His enthusiasm, however, at last began to bear fruit:

"Tuesday, 9 June, 1869. A Club meeting was held this day at Hook's new residence at Churt, near Farnham. The members were received to Luncheon and much enjoyed their day in the Country. Haden superintended the proving of an Etching by Palmer at the Club press, of which Hook has the Charge."

The interest of these entries, and the fact that the Minutes have so rarely been drawn upon before, may excuse yet another extract, if only because it contains a reference to Goulding:

"Friday, 3rd June, 1870. A special meeting was held this Evening at Haden's—present Cope, O'Neill, Tayler, R. Redgrave, Ansdell, Haden, and the Secretary, and towards the conclusion of the Meeting Horsley and Millais. The Club were invited by their Host to his press room, where a printer was engaged, and great interest was felt in proving very successfully the plates for the Art-Union work. A 'standing symposium' was provided and enjoyed by the Members . . .

"Resolved that Mr. Vincent Brooks (late Day & Co.,) be recommended to the Art Union to print the work—on condition that the printing shall be exclusively entrusted to Golding (sic), a workman in his employ, who under the instructions of the Club has produced very successful impressions of their plates for the Art Union."*

Frederick Goulding, indeed, was to take no unimportant place in the history of the etching revival in England. Haden met him first at the second International Exhibition (i.e., in 1862) when he was still an apprentice to Day & Son. His working of the press interested Haden, and he invited him to his studio. There is no doubt that this friendship with the cultivated surgeon, and the opportunity of examining his Rembrandts, had an important bearing on Goulding's own development. Haden's *Etudes à l'Eau-forte*, published in Paris in 1865-66, were printed by Delâtre, and it was, in all probability, the study of impressions from this set which spurred Goulding on to surpass the famous French printer. We have seen how both Delâtre and Goulding came in touch with the Etching Club, and on both occasions Haden was present. He preserved to the end a great respect for Goulding, and treated him with a consideration which he did not always bestow on the rest of mankind. The first plates of his printed by Goulding were the *Dundrum River* and the *Two Asses*, etched as a single plate in 1867 and then cut in two.

Frederick Goulding, the son and grandson of copper-plate printers, was born in 1842 and died in 1909. He served his time to the same trade, and in 1859 had

*For Goulding's account of this meeting see Frederick Goulding, Master Printer of Copper Plates, by Martin Hardie, A.R.E., Stirling, 1910, p. 54.

the good fortune to act as assistant to Whistler, when the latter came to Day's to prove his plates himself, a procedure which was still regarded as eccentric in an artist.* His relations with Haden have been already dealt with.

By 1877 he had so much work to do that he set up a private press of his own, and four years later started in business on his own account. He thus caught the flood tide of the etching revival. During the 'eighties Goulding printed proofs of the work of Strang, Zorn, Pennell, Frank Short, Stephen Parrish, W. L. Wyllie, and most of the artists who were etching at that period. A good deal of his time was undoubtedly consumed in printing the large, elaborate reproductive etchings which have since gone so completely out of fashion; but to all he brought the same conscientious handling, and the same instinct for getting the very best out of a plate.

An acknowledgment of the importance of the printer came with the acceptance of Goulding's practice of putting his monogram on proofs printed with his own hands. Examples of his signature are now almost as much prized as those of the artists themselves.

In 1876 Goulding became assistant to Alphonse Legros, who was in charge of the etching class at South Kensington, the National Art Training School which was later to develop into the Royal College of Art. For the first three years he was also working at the Slade School. When Legros died, in 1882, Goulding conducted the South Kensington class alone, and was in turn succeeded, in 1891, by Frank Short, who only relinquished his post quite recently. But both Legros and Short have important places in the history of etching, and must be discussed later. Goulding was, in 1890, unanimously elected by the Council of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers to be their first Master Printer, an honour which he keenly appreciated, and which set the seal of recognition on his achievement.

This body—the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers—was the work of Haden. We have seen how he broke away from the Etching Club, finding it impossible to convert the other members to his views. The Club accepted his resignation

*See Frederick Goulding, Master Printer of Copper Plates, by Martin Hardie, A.R.E., Stirling, 1910, p. 24.

(not, one fancies, without a certain relief) in April, 1878, and two years later Haden founded the Society of Painter-Etchers, which in 1891 became the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers, Haden, as its President, receiving a knighthood in recognition of his services.

An account of the beginning of the Society can be culled from Herkomer.*

"I was present (by Mr. Haden's invitation) at the first meeting, when he read to us his first sketch of the scheme. My recollection is somewhat dim; I can only recall the presence of Professor Legros (who did not understand English and was sketching all the time), and of M. Tissot (who confined himself to vowing vengeance against the dealers).

"I was too inexperienced then to see the drift of the scheme, and withdrew before any of the plans had been ripened or settled."

Legros indeed was never a very enthusiastic member. He was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1880, but resigned five years later. He was, however, re-elected in April, 1895, and made an Honorary Fellow in 1910. Herkomer himself, who was later to take up etching with his customary enthusiasm, must be briefly mentioned here.

Negligible as an artist, and so dazzled by the multiplicity of his talents as to be able to speak of "My School and My Gospel" in a way likely to estrange all possible sympathy, he was yet an interesting figure in the history of technical processes, and a pioneer in several of the varieties of modern engraving. He was one of the first to do burin-work direct from nature,† and he invented a "positive process" for etching which has not perhaps had all the success its ingenuity deserved. One of the difficulties of the etcher's art is that the lines which are ultimately to print black appear, as the etching needle moves over the grounded plate, the golden colour of the polished copper, and light, by comparison, with the rest of the surface. It was to obviate this negative method that Herkomer invented his process, which consists of spreading white grease-paint on the or-

*See *Etching and Mezzotint Engraving*, Lectures delivered at Oxford by Hubert Herkomer, R.A., M.A., London, 1892, p. 12.

†See "A Study," opp. p. 55 in *Etching and Mezzotint Engraving*. Lectures delivered at Oxford by Hubert Herkomer, R.A., M.A., London, 1892.

dinary etching ground and sprinkling upon this adhesive surface a thin layer of powdered white zinc. This he claimed offered no resistance to the free movement of the needle, and the drawn lines showed black against the dead white of the zinc.

Herkomer also pre-figured the modern movement in etching by his "strong appeal for more subjects in which the human figure is the prominent feature."*

Reference has been made already to Alphonse Legros, who, although a Frenchman, spent so much of his life in England, and exerted so considerable an influence, that he must be dealt with at some length. He was born at Dijon in 1837, and studied first at the local Ecole des Beaux-Arts. The country round his native town, and the life of the inhabitants, impressed him so forcibly that he continued to draw his inspiration from them to the end of his life. He worked for a time as a journeyman wall-painter, and, after coming to Paris, under Cambon the scene-painter. Perhaps it was this latter experience which gave Legros his broadness of handling, a broadness which in some of his etchings degenerated into his trick of open diagonal shading, almost careless in its disregard of any kind of surface texture.

In spite of the praise given to his paintings by such distinguished critics as Baudelaire, Legros found it hard to make a living in France, and, on the advice of Whistler, he came to England in 1863, supporting himself by etching and teaching. In the etching class at South Kensington, to which he was appointed on the recommendation of Poynter twelve years later, he strove to instil into his pupils his own ideals of *la noblesse et la sévérité*, and his admiration for the *Primitives*. Technically, he was almost self-taught, as he had picked up etching by watching a commercial engraver at work, but he knew how to get the effects he wanted, and his simplicity of technique did no harm in a period over-devoted to elaboration in etching.

His first etching was done in 1854 when he was seventeen years of age, and during his long life he produced some hundreds of plates, of unequal merit, but all characterised by his deep sincerity and charged with a profound, if too consistently sombre, emotional power. The hardships of peasant life inspired him,

**Ibid.*, p. 73.

as they inspired Millet, but he avoided the sentimentality of the latter. His obsession with death grows monotonous, but it gave rise to some of his finest plates, notably *La Mort et le Bûcheron*, and *La Mort du Vagabond*. This latter is perhaps Legros' finest achievement, although he himself felt that the composition was overbalanced by the diagonal tree, and cut the plate vertically to concentrate attention upon the figure of the dying tramp. There is no hint of sentimentality in the treatment, and the subject is raised, by the sincerity of Legros' vision, to an extreme of tragic intensity.

His power of rendering the gloomy effects of nature can be studied also in his drypoint *L'Orage*, with violent rain pouring from a black cloud in desolate country. As a contrast, *Le Pré Ensoleillé* is a plate full of sunlight, but still with a melancholy tinge which makes it difficult to believe the well-authenticated stories of his gaiety in actual life.

But perhaps the most important part of Legros' contribution to modern etching was his revival of the tradition of etched portraiture, which had lain dormant since the plates of Van Dyck were ruined by his disciples. Impressions from the early states were, however, available, although no one had been found capable of understanding their significance. Legros' etched portraits have a dignity and a sincerity, matched with a spiritual insight into character, which place them in the front rank of work of this kind. His *Cardinal Manning* is a masterly study of that complex personality; and he delineated with rare sympathy and understanding such diverse types as the painter G. F. Watts, Victor Hugo and Gambetta. Most modern work in etched portraiture owes a great debt to Legros.

In his capacity as a teacher, he had the power of provoking a passionate discipleship on the part of some of the younger men. The most notable of these was William Strang, but Charles Holroyd bears plain marks of his influence.

William Strang (1859-1921) followed closely in the footsteps of his master, and, like him, was extraordinarily prolific, producing something like 700 plates. He covered a considerable range of subject, but his pictures of peasant life, and his portraits, are plainly derived from Legros. Even such a plate as his *Monks in Church* owes much to the French master, and his treatment of landscape some-

times reflects even the tricks of the elder artist's style. But he adds to Legros' preoccupation with humble life his own liking for the grotesque, reinforced perhaps by the study of such seventeenth century Dutchmen as Ostade and Bega. In his renderings of scenes from contemporary life, as for example in *The Salvation Army*, or *Socialists*, he anticipates the work of Job Nixon, although his grotesques have none of the humour that lurks behind Nixon's method.

Strang's "dourness" no doubt accounts for a good deal of his present unpopularity. His Scottish imagination moved in a world devoid alike of elegance or satire. The present age dislikes the serious treatment of the sordid, and a preference for such subjects as *Knackers* and *The Hangman's Daughter* must have contributed not a little to his temporary eclipse. But the value of his portraits is difficult to deny. In his *Portrait of Rudyard Kipling*, in his *Emery Walter*, in his *Frederick Goulding* and in his numerous self-portraits he nobly carried on the tradition revived by Legros, and most modern etchers who have attempted the same kind of subject have learned not a little from his example.

Sir Charles Holroyd, although hampered by his official duties as Director of the National Gallery in London, managed to produce an *œuvre* of considerable dimensions (nearly three hundred plates). He has not the vigour either of Legros or Strang, his outlook being much more sophisticated than either. In his early work the crude hatching which he has learned from the French master is much in evidence, and, like him, he is at first much attracted by scenes from monastic life. But his knowledge of Renaissance Italian painting led him to take an interest in the decorative value of the human figure, an interest which bore fruit in such plates as *Eve and the Serpent* and the *Luna Series*. His power of dramatic composition is shown to great advantage in the fine etching, *Midnight Service, Venice*, and his power of tree-drawing in the well-known *You Tree on Glaramara*. His sincerity as an artist is unquestionable, and had he been able to devote himself entirely to etching there is little doubt that he would hold a higher place than he does in the history of the art.

William Rothenstein is well-known as a painter, and some of his earliest successes were obtained in lithography, but it is not often realised that he has produced a certain number of etchings. These bear, for the most part, many

signs of the influence of Legros, but there is also evidence of the strong individual sense of dramatic grouping which is to be seen in such a painting as the *Doll's House* in the National Gallery of British Art. Rothenstein's later work is a reflection of his interest in landscape; but students of etching will regret that he has not used the needle for some at least of his immense gallery of contemporary portraits.

An etcher contemporary with Strang, but who is happily still alive, is Sir Frank Short. He is, above all, the technical master, not only of etching, but of every other engraving process. Generations of younger men have been taught by him personally, and still more have been inspired by his example. He was one of the first to prove that the triumphs of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in mezzotint could be repeated; and he wrestled successfully with the troublesome technique of aquatint, used not merely as an additional tone to etching (although Sir Frank has so used it), but as an original and independent process. His work in reproductive engraving, in particular the heroic task of finishing Turner's *Liber Studiorum*, lies outside the scope of this book, and some may regret that so much time has, in the past, been stolen from his original work.

He is still President of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers, and it is difficult to over-estimate the influence which that society exercises upon the younger craftsmen. Until quite recently he was also in charge of the Engraving School at the Royal College of Art, South Kensington, and for many years spared no effort to teach his pupils the duty of honest technique, and to make them see the pleasure which was to be obtained by a thorough mastery of every detail of their craft. Advancing years compelled him to relinquish what had always been a labour of love, although it had, no doubt, seriously limited his own production as an etcher.

Short's etching is marked by great reserve and austerity. He often chooses subjects without any obvious appeal, and depicts them with a delicate, but almost Puritanical, economy of line. His drypoint *Wintry Blast on the Stourbridge Canal*, is often considered his best plate, and it is an excellent example of his technical accomplishment and of his prevailing mood of meditative melancholy.

He is particularly fond of "long-shore" subjects and has found material for

his art at Polperro, Rye, and the mouth of the Mersey. One of his best and most characteristic works is the plate etched in 1888 to which he gave the title *Low Tide, the Evening Star, and Rye's Long Pier Deserted*.

Closely associated with Sir Frank Short in his educational work at South Kensington was Constance Mary Pott. Her knowledge of technical procedure almost rivalled his own, and her etchings have an unassuming charm. She has been most successful in her delineation of London streets, as in *High Street, Kensington*, and *The Old 'Morning Post' Office in the Strand*.

CHAPTER VIII

The Reactions from Whistler

THE stimulus which Whistler imparted to the art of etching was enormous, but he left surprisingly few direct disciples. Even before his death his influence, that is, the direct influence of his style, had been largely obliterated by several reactions, or back-eddies, and by the growing veneration for Meryon. The men who followed most closely in his footsteps were not themselves very distinguished etchers. Walter Greaves sometimes produced a plate which might almost be mistaken for that of the master, but he never used Whistler's technique as a starting point for his own development, and, as an etcher, he is now almost forgotten.

Mortimer Menpes is a little more important, and is to-day considered at less than his worth. His Venice etchings have nothing of Whistler's delicacy, but they are honest transcriptions of fact, and he showed a fine sense of chiaroscuro in such a plate as *An Archway, Toledo*. His power of dealing with a mass of architectural detail is seen to advantage in *The Great Door, Rouen Cathedral*. But he is very far from being among the supreme masters.

Theodore Roussel occasionally came very close to Whistler's manner both in his portraits, with their delicate broken line, and in his street scenes, such as *Chelsea Children*, *Chelsea Embankment*, which is however, marred by a coarseness of biting which Whistler would never have tolerated. He made some interesting experiments with soft-ground etching and aquatint. The early work of Frank Laing is extremely Whistlerian.

One of Whistler's most cherished maxims was that "the large plate is an abomination." In this no artist has departed from the Whistler tradition more completely than Frank Brangwyn. Vastness, an effect of massive grouping, violent contrasts, have been his most constant characteristics, have indeed shown signs, from time to time of developing into a vice of style, a kind of fetish of bigness, an art from which every sort of delicate intimacy has been banished. His output has been enormous, and every one of his plates bears the stamp of his virile personality. His plates compel a certain attention, even when one is most convinced that his methods are an abuse of the medium. Huge sheets of metal with deep trenches bitten into the copper give impressions in

which the ridged paper stands up like impasto; the film of ink left on the plate heightens the melodrama of the light and shade, and the design itself is grand, superb, sometimes over-dramatic, never very sensitive, but always prodigious.

It was a happy thought which sent him to Messina soon after the earthquake. The work of restoration had not yet begun, and the city was full of fantastic ruins. With his innate love of anything beetling, cliff-like, seen from such a point as to seem to threaten the spectator with its fall, Brangwyn must have been enchanted with Messina. Already in his second plate, etched in zinc from a sketch made on the spot, he had struck the note which he was to sound throughout. *Apse of the Duomo, Messina*, with its crowd huddled in prayer before all that remains of the Norman cathedral, is a typical Brangwyn, even to the theatrical sunset seen beyond the ruined arch. In his *Church of il Spirito Santo* (a zinc plate nearly twenty-nine inches long and twenty three inches high) the same methods are pushed still further. The church is shown almost in section, cut through by the earthquake like a honeycomb. Again there is the spot-light *chiaroscuro*, effective, but quite arbitrary, again the violent sky, again the huddled figures (although the men with the ladders are cunningly contrived). The effect begins to look like a trick, the method seems to be crystallising into a formula. Yet the result is undeniably striking, in a way reminiscent of the work of some of the Neapolitan "Darklings," with whose vision Brangwyn has much in common.

He has always had a passion for bridges. It is possible to get almost underneath them, and make the most of the ominous sweep of the arch they thrust forward into space; they lend themselves to towering compositions. Brangwyn emphasises the smallness of man by exaggerating the size of his creations, as Piranesi had done before him; but with the patient archaeology of Piranesi Brangwyn has nothing to do. There is no feeling for history in his delineation of buildings, no apprehension of period, no sense of architectural style. He is concerned only with creating an effective decoration, and he would prefer to make it on a grand scale.

It is a legitimate question what use the huge etchings of Brangwyn can be put to. They are too large to keep in a portfolio; nothing is to be gained by holding

them in the hand, for there is no delicacy of workmanship to be seen by looking at them closely. They are obviously intended to be hung upon a wall, and if etchings are to be used as wall-decorations, perhaps Brangwyn's are the best that could be found for the purpose. But it is wise to hang them not on a staircase, as most etchings should be hung, but in a large room, or at the end of a gallery. Brangwyn is a decorator first and last, and he is so even in what, for many artists, is the most intimate part of their expression, their etched work.

Cameron, whatever one may think of the sometimes excessive prices paid for single impressions of some of his later plates, remains one of the most important figures of contemporary etching. He was etching in the 'Eighties of the last century, but it is a proof of his vitality, and the progress which may be traced in his work, that it is still impossible to regard him as anything but contemporary. It has been suggested elsewhere in this volume that part of that vitality may spring from the fact that Cameron has not confined himself to etching, but has been equally active with the brush. His work was noticed from the first by connoisseurs of prints, and Cameron was elected an Associate of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers in 1889, but the great demand for his prints did not begin until the end of the century.

His early work is not entirely architectural—such plates as the *Clyde at Cardross*, etched in 1889, exist as a foreshadowing of his later manner—but there is no doubt that it was his architectural plates which first won him the favour of the public. His *Rowallan Castle* (1892) is an early example of that delight in massive structure and in clear-cut chiaroscuro which was later to be exemplified in the etchings of the "London Set" and in such plates as *Siena*, and *The Rialto*. In his vision of Venice there was surprisingly little evidence of the influence of Whistler. Rather was Cameron profoundly influenced by Meryon, and perhaps his liking for composition within an oval may be traced to the same source—the famous *Stryge*. One of the differences between his reaction to architectural antiquity and that of the French master, may be summed up by saying that whereas Cameron seems conscious of the solemnity of an old building, Meryon saw in it something sinister also.

With *St. Laumer*, *Blois* begins the series (at intervals) of tall church interiors,

continued in the fine *Notre Dame, Dinant*, and culminating in the famous *Five Sisters, York Minster*, etched in 1907. This last is perhaps the most sought after of his plates (only thirty impressions were taken, most of which went to America), and it exhibits most of the characteristics of Cameron's mature style. The etching is heavily re-inforced with drypoint, and the artist has very wisely allowed the beautiful shape of the window to make its own appeal, merely adding to the illusion of height by a slight emphasis on the pillars at either side. The top of the window is almost lost in obscurity and its immense size is indicated by the group of figures at the base, lit by a ray of light coming in from the side.

Of his landscapes, *Ben Ledi* is by many considered to be Cameron's finest achievement, but for the present writer there is, in the end, something tiring in these overloaded shadows; an abuse of drypoint burr which tends to make the plate look woolly. Some of his "cleaner" plates are preferable, and there is a peculiar charm in such a print as *Dinnet Moor*, with its contrast between the delicate, scraped lines of the distant mountain and the heavy darks of the nearer hills.

Cameron was compelled during his early years to do a certain amount of work "to order," and this has swollen his *œuvre* to almost uncomfortable dimensions; yet there can be little doubt that he is one of the most considerable of modern etchers, that his general level of accomplishment is very high, and that some of his plates may be reckoned masterpieces.

Whistler, in his later manner at least, was a true Impressionist in that he was more interested in light and atmosphere than in the forms of things. Meryon loved buildings for their own sake, but even he was concerned essentially with a *façade*. Muirhead Bone has an interest in *structure* which makes him an important influence in the etched work of the twentieth century. For the twentieth century is obsessed by structure; it is an Age of Machinery, and machinery is nothing but bones without flesh. Our very building operations begin with a complete skeleton where those of our ancestors began with a slowly rising wall.

The art-stream is a multitude of minor eddies, and any attempt to generalise leads to falsification. But it does not seem fantastic to suggest that the present age rather than the Age of Ruskin should have been the period of Gothic revival,

for the Gothic builders, too, dealt with skeletons lightly covered with flesh. The decoration of a *façade*—scene-painting—which was the essential principle of the Baroque, was much more suited to the Victorian era, but by a stroke of ill-luck, or by one of those mal-adjustments of influences, which are responsible for artistic abortions, Ruskin hated the Baroque, and the present age, in theory at least, adores it.

But if the craze for Baroque be anything more than a passing fancy of the over-sophisticated, it has at least little influence on the real *décor* of our lives. That the engineers decide for us, and it was with a shock of surprise that artists made the great discovery that a half-completed building was as useful for their purposes as a crumbling ruin, and that a complicated piece of scaffolding, erected yesterday, can be as exciting as a mediæval cathedral.

The nineteenth century etcher tended to be recruited from the ranks of oil and water-colour painters; the twentieth century etcher seems to begin life, with significant frequency, as an architect. It is very natural that the architect's eye should be aware of pulls and stresses, should know instinctively which piece of masonry supports the roof, and which is a mere decoration, facts by no means always obvious to the layman. The influence of the architects, attracted to etching as their most convenient expression, has undoubtedly tended to harden the outlines of the art, to divert it from the sketchiness which Haden prized, and to assimilate it to the art of line-engraving. The drypoint itself has not quite the freedom of the etching needle, and may have contributed in the work of Bone to emphasise the same tendency.*

With the exception of a few familiar plates, very little of Bone's work is at all well-known to the general public. His prints have not often been reproduced in art journals, nor has much chance been offered of seeing his engraved work in exhibitions. His devotion to the drypoint process, and the little use which he has made of the protection of steel facing, has tended to limit severely the num-

*Mr. Campbell Dodgson writing in 1908 (*Etchings and Dry Points by Muirhead Bone I, 1898-1907*) says: "The year 1901 is remarkable for the preponderance of etching over dry point; since that time only five etchings occur in the whole list, and of these very few impressions were taken . . . For the present the artist has lost his skill at biting in a plate, and rarely attempts to recover it." In Mr. Dodgson's continuation of his catalogue (*Print Collector's Quarterly, 1922, p. 190*) only two etchings are described.

ber of proofs available. Yet the discerning have always been conscious of their worth, and there are valuable collections of his work in the public galleries of London and Venice, and in the main cities of Germany.

After working in Glasgow and at Ayr, Bone settled in 1901 in London at the early age of twenty-five. He had already produced more than a hundred plates: figure subjects, portraits, landscapes, scenes in Glasgow dockyards. His first London plate was of *Belgrave Hospital, Kennington*, and represented a brick building in course of construction, with the scaffolding still standing up round it.

Soon after—in 1903—came the unfinished drypoint of London Bridge. Unfortunately a policeman moved the artist on before he could complete the work, but enough has been done to show the first span of the bridge with the scaffolding erected for widening.

After this Bone seems to have made a resolute, and ultimately successful, attempt to widen his scope. His first landscapes were not very good; but very soon, at Winchester, at Cambridge, and among the villages of Sussex, he became able to subdue his subject-matter once more. In the drypoint of the *Old and New Gaiety Theatres*, he returned to his former love, and in the same year (1904) he indulged in a perfect orgy, in the plate called *Building*. In this the planks and poles of scaffolding, as well as the cords and pulleys, are lingered over with the most loving care. There exist of this plate three trial proofs, and no less than nine published states, showing the trouble which the artist must have taken to obtain the effect he desired.

Then, as if once more to prevent himself from hardening into a specialist, Bone produced a whole series of portraits, and after these came the work which many regard as the artist's masterpiece—*Ayr Prison*—an unforgettable plate.

So Muirhead Bone has gone on, his work never falling below a high level, and every now and then rising to great heights. He has been dealt with at length not only for his own rank as an artist, but for the immense influence he has exercised on all who have come after him. His is one of the supreme achievements of modern etching.*

*Throughout this work the term "etching" is used generally to cover both true etching and drypoint. Otherwise a master of drypoint such as Muirhead Bone could scarcely be mentioned here at all. The views of the purist must yield to the general usage.

Augustus John, more famous as a painter than as an etcher, has yet produced some plates interesting, not only for their own merits, but because they stand so completely apart from the stream of influences which might have been supposed to have enveloped their creator while they were being produced. John went straight back to Rembrandt, ignoring all subsequent masters. His plates are nearly all small, and were produced almost entirely between 1900 and 1901. For the technical mysteries of the craft he seems to care nothing, being content to use etching as a means of setting down rapid impressions in the intervals of painting. Several of the plates are frank failures, but others, especially some of the self-portraits, and the splendid *Girl Smiling*, reveal his mastery of draughtsmanship and the vigour of his personality in a manner so vivid as to be almost startling. His use of drypoint is not always judicious, and in technical resource he is much less efficient than many of his contemporaries. But there is always something of value in the etchings of artists who, while taking etching seriously, do not abandon the wider view of the painter, and bring to the copper-plate something of the colour and the breadth they have learned on the canvas.

The rise of James McBey to fame in the world of etching has been one of the most spectacular of recent years. He made his reputation with his early Dutch plates, confirmed it with a series depicting bullfights—especially the fine *Ovation to the Matador*—and carried all before him with his prints of the war years, and since.

His technique is largely based on Whistler's later manner—the broken line of the Venice set; but in place of the feminine fastidiousness of the older master, there is a virility, sometimes a brutality, of handling which makes it plain that McBey's debt to Whistler is only incidental. Yet he, like Whistler, is essentially the sketcher; the painstaking architectural constructions of his contemporaries are foreign to his nature. He excels in depicting small craft buffeted by the force of the waves—as in *Gale at Port Erroll*—or dark sails silhouetted for a moment against the glare of the sun—as in *Ebb Tide*.

Venice has fascinated him as it has done so many other etchers. His Venetian set is a remarkable achievement, and he has not allowed his vision of the beautiful city to be distorted by memories of what previous artists have accomplished in the same place.

The least successful of his plates are his portraits. His method resembles that of Zorn (not in its trick of shading, but in its manner of approach) yet, except in his rare portrait of *Malcolm Salaman*, he has still to acquire that master's gift of seeing a *personality*. He has still to etch his *Renan*.

In the work of Frederick Landseer Griggs we find the Palmer tradition suddenly revived, not in the sense that Griggs has gone to Palmer for his mannerisms, but that he has re-discovered a similar fount of inspiration, and aided by the same "backward-looking" temperament, has produced etchings which remind one, at times, of the work of the older artist. There is in all Griggs' work that curious blend of intimacy, reverence, and wonder, which Palmer discovered for the first time in his etching, *Christmas*, and which he nourished and developed all his life until it bore fruit in such plates as *The Bellman* and *The Lonely Tower*. The manner both have evolved for themselves is not of universal application. It needs a quietness and a delicacy even harder to find to-day than during Palmer's lifetime, but for those who can command such qualities, it can aid in the production of works like *The Almonry* and *Ex Anglia Perdita*, from which Palmer, could he have seen them, would have derived something of the same ecstatic pleasure which was given him by Calvert's *Cyder Feast*, and by Blake's little woodcut illustrations to Dr. Thornton's edition of Phillips' *Pastorals*.

Griggs takes up the Blake-Calvert-Palmer tradition, but it is Blake at his most intimate, purged of the grandiloquent and the michaelangelesque, it is Calvert without the elements of his "classical-pastoral," it is Palmer with a better informed mediævalism, and with the addition of an understanding of architecture which neither Blake, nor Calvert, nor Palmer ever possessed. Griggs is a distinguished architectural draughtsman, and almost persuades us that Gothic architecture, in very truth, is the only possible setting for a beautiful life. His mood is habitually contemplative, charged with melancholy, but lightened by hope; his technique, the antithesis of the sketch, and, for his chosen purposes, faultless.

Palmer, or Griggs, or both, have influenced some of the younger etchers, especially Graham Sunderland and Paul Drury, but neither of these has allowed his individuality to be submerged. Both, with Edward Bouverie-Hoyton, studied

under Osborne at South Kensington and under Stanley Anderson at the Goldsmiths' College School of Art. They have all within recent years shown a rapid advance in technical accomplishment, and a real power of grappling with their chosen subject matter.

In the technique of such a plate as his *Head of a Jew*, Bouverie-Hoyton joins hands with the practice of that leading modern master of minute work on the copper: Gerald L. Brockhurst. The latter's method of stippling in the shadows of a face is reminiscent of the school of Bartolozzi. It may almost be questioned whether his laborious treatment of hands and faces is not outside the scope of true etching, but he attains the effect he desires; and few others, by the same means, could do as much. In an etching such as *Deux Landaises*—one of his best—the faces of the two women are so closely modelled as to have the appearance of exquisitely fine pencil drawing. Fortunately, the artist knows when to stop, and he does not elaborate the whole of his plate to the same degree of finish. The furniture behind the two figures is indicated vaguely by a few faint lines, as it would in fact be seen by the human eye focussed upon the faces in the foreground. Brockhurst has a following of his own, if few imitators—his method is too laborious to encourage imitation—and he deserves respect for the courage of his individual technique. Such an etching as *The Silk Dress* is a thing of permanent beauty.

For one who was, in his early days, so faithful a disciple of Whistler, Walter Richard Sickert shows singularly little trace of his master's influence. It is true that some of his earliest etchings, based on Whistler's final manner, are slight to the point of non-existence. In his painting he is concerned with the modifications of form by atmosphere, and the production of an opalescent harmony of colour. In his etchings that acute interest in human life which is seldom banished from his any of his work is even more apparent. It is not human life, as Whistler saw it; there is none of his delicate evocation of exquisite femininity, none of his dangerous elegance. Sickert based himself firmly on the squalid life of Camden Town, but, after his early attempts, it was not for some years that his interest once more turned to etching. In 1906 or thereabouts he took up the needle again, and by this time his artistic aims had solidified, and he was able to express them wholeheartedly in his work on the copper.

Jack Ashore would be an illustration, if it were not that the artist has managed to express, by the mere white of the paper, a whole range of flesh tints in the figure of the seated nude. The small *Ennui* plate has a largeness of design which makes it independent of its subject, powerfully as that subject is presented. *Mon Rêve, ça a toujours été d'avoir une armoire à glace* might be found in the pages of a very sophisticated *Punch*, but it is the amusing recession, and the way in which the design is constructed of the simplest elements, that form the plate's real force and attraction.

Sickert suggests shadows rather by leaving them out, and yet his plates never lack depth. Some of them have the astonishing brilliancy of artificial light, as in *The Old Bedford*. Sickert stands completely outside the main stream of contemporary etching, yet paradoxically he remains nearest to Whistler of all who have come after him, and this in spite of a difference of outlook, a difference of subject-matter, and a difference of technique. What this similarity consists in it is hard to say, yet one has only to compare his work with that of any of Whistler's professed imitators to see that it exists.

Miss Wendela Boreel is the most faithful of all the disciples of Sickert, and as her master stands so much apart from the majority of English etchers, her echo of his technical mannerisms is the more noticeable. None the less, her open, wavy line, generally vertical, has a charm of its own, and she is able to suggest subtleties of atmosphere almost as well as Sickert himself. She shares Sickert's interest (in spite of his preoccupation with effects of light) in human types, and her *Old Lady in a Bonnet* is a little masterpiece of characterisation. *Anzy* obtains its effect with a minimum of work on the plate, and *Church Parade* suggests a great deal by means of a similar economy. The aquatint, *Girl Dressing*, is curiously early nineteenth-century in flavour; and in *Brighton Front* Miss Boreel joins hands with that other disciple of Sickert, Sylvia Gosse.

Sylvia Gosse, the daughter of the late Sir Edmund Gosse, the well-known man of letters, has learned much from her master without sacrificing anything of her own originality. Her method is one of flecks and dashes, and the deliberate use of foul biting; the general effect, similar to that obtained by soft-ground etching. Less mordant than Sickert, she has perhaps more interest in the med-

ium for its own sake, and is not without her own sense of humour, her kindly comment upon life. Her first plates were produced about 1910, and her line since then has grown steadily more subtle. She has portrayed the life of Charlotte Street with exquisite sympathy, and has specialised in music-hall and theatrical prints. Her aquatints of Bath have an eighteenth century dignity and tranquillity.

Another woman etcher who learned her technique from Sickert is Mary Hogarth, whose etchings of Roman fountains are too little known.

CHAPTER IX

Modern British Etching

THE previous chapter was concerned with broad tendencies, and with the work of those who seemed to illustrate them. The student, however, when he has constructed such pigeon-holes, and pushed as much into them as he can, still finds so much over that he begins to despair of ever being able to classify his material at all. There remain hundreds of etchers, some even of great distinction, whose productions seem to belong to no particular category, or else illustrate so many tendencies at once, that it would be simpler for the chronicler if they illustrated none at all. He is compelled to fall back on a rough arrangement, half by subject, half chronological, and he may congratulate himself if he emerge from the jungle by any device. It is no virtue in an artist to illustrate a tendency, yet he can almost always be sure of earning the critic's sympathy by doing so. It is so much easier to weave him into a continuous narrative. The foregoing chapters are, it may be hoped, so many strings of beads. This is a bag of marbles.

Some of the older men must be discussed, and to do so it is necessary to go back to the early years of the century. It is sometimes forgotten, in our admiration for Haden, that his influence was not always as powerful as it seems, in retrospect, to-day. Contemporary with Haden, a number of etchers were at work who belonged rather to the tradition of the etching clubs, even if they did not belong to the clubs themselves, and whose work borrowed something in manner from the practice of the reproductive engravers. Other etchers there were too, who produced sound work, but whose accomplishment looms a little less large now than it did (say) when Sir Frederick Wedmore produced his *Etching in England* in 1895, or even than when his *Etchings* appeared in 1911. Herkomer has been already dealt with in a previous chapter. Axel Haig produced an immense number of architectural plates, elaborately finished in a manner which has now gone completely out of fashion.

A certain amount of good work was done in the 'eighties and 'nineties by W. Holmes May, who specialised in views of Surrey, and etchings of Haddon Hall. He was able to render the effect of heavy, lowering skies with considerable skill, and he had a real feeling for the qualities of English landscape.

An attractive figure is the amateur, Colonel Robert Goff. His *œuvre* reaches a formidable total, and embraces subjects drawn from England, Italy, Japan and elsewhere. His work never falls below a respectable level, and if it never rises to greatness, is always capable and sincere. *Middelburgh, Holland* is one of his most attractive plates. Herbert Marshall's work is very similar to that of Goff.

John Wright, a painter largely self-taught, has produced a number of etchings and drypoints elementary in technique, but with considerable power of rendering the varying moods of nature. His best plate perhaps is the etching of *The Canal at Sluis*.

Thomas Hope McLachlan died in 1897 at the age of fifty, so that he belongs to the generation of artists to whom etching was not as familiar a process as it has since become. Several of his plates he threw away as useless, although they have afterwards, in skilful hands, yielded fine proofs. His output was not large, and he never reached supreme heights. His best plate (when not wiped too hard) is, perhaps, *Calais*.

The career of Edward Millington Synge suffered from his chronic ill-health and was cut short before he had accomplished all he set himself to do. He was born in 1860, but it was not until the twentieth century that he was free to devote himself to art. He died in 1913. His work is quiet and somewhat melancholy, without any overmastering force behind it, but a plate like his unfinished etching *Poplars and Stream, Lingostière* reveals a touching sensibility for the beauty of landscape, and an understanding of the possibilities of the medium to express his emotion.

Nelson Dawson worked in metal, and painted in water-colour as well as producing colour aquatints, before he turned his attention to soft-ground etching. There is so little soft-ground etching that it is interesting to note his success in using it to depict shipping and longshore scenes.

Hedley Fitton works in the tradition of Axel Haig, and there is a somewhat old-fashioned look about his plates which is apt to blind the modern eye to their real merits. He is a conscientious etcher of architecture with a somewhat excessive emphasis on the picturesque. Another etcher who owes something to Haig, but more to Cameron, is Albany E. Howarth. In spite of his roman-

ticism in depicting architecture, he conveys a real feeling of spaciousness in his Northumbrian landscape. William Monk has interpreted with a fluent needle the obvious attractiveness of such buildings as *The Sheldonian, Oxford*, and *Car-narvon Castle*, while J. Hamilton Mackenzie explored the possibilities of monasteries and cathedrals in Italy and the north of Europe.

An etcher whose work has considerable popular appeal is W. L. Wyllie, a veteran artist with a liking for wealth of detail seen through a haze of romance. He depicts the river craft on the Thames, and shipping of all kinds round the English coast, his smaller plates being perhaps his best.

In William Walker's architectural studies and landscapes there is sometimes a certain obviousness not so much of handling as of conception, as if he had insufficiently matured his design before setting it down. In such a drypoint as *A Building in Genoa*, he has produced a striking and original plate.

The sense of design in the etchings of Sidney Lee is very strong, nurtured no doubt by his work on the wood and on the lithographic stone. His etched work tends to be very vivid in contrast of light and shade, with deep lines, and plentiful use of foul biting.

Among etchers of trees of the last generation may be mentioned Reginald E. J. Bush, for his delight in the patterns made by interlacing branches, and the Hon. Walter James, for his sense of the massive solidity of old timber and his feeling for Northumbrian landscape. Luke Taylor was able to suggest the movement of masses of leaves in wind in a way which presages the latter successes of W. P. Robins. John A. Ness conveys in some of his plates a sense of the mystery of woods, and Oliver Hall also understands the structure of trees and well expresses a feeling of the windiness of open country.

George Clausen, R.A. is better known as a painter than as an etcher, but he has produced a couple of dozen plates, reminiscent, in their general effect, of his work with the brush. He finds it easier to deal with a tone-process, and so tends to reinforce his etched line with mezzotint, but where he has contented himself with the bitten line, as in *Filling Sacks*, perhaps his best plate, he shows sufficient mastery of the medium to evoke that quiet, unchanged, country atmosphere, which is his most characteristic expression.

A certain coarseness of handling characterises all the work of Sir Alfred East. His use of foul biting approached aquatint, and perhaps he was most successful when he adopted the latter medium frankly. Content with somewhat crude devices (as, for instance in *Saint Ives*), he draws a straight line to indicate the division between sky and sea, and simply wipes the sea clean and leaves tone on the sky. Nevertheless his feeling for design gives a decorative unity to his plates which is not without its effect.

Alfred Hartley is a portrait and landscape painter as well as an etcher. Etching he learned in the most haphazard way, making his own materials from directions in an old encyclopaedia, and beginning by copying a plate of Horsley. So unpropitious a start might well have deterred him, but he persisted, and finally learned all the details of the craft. He has also been much attracted by colour-aquatint.

There is a certain similarity between his etched work and that of C. J. Watson. As if in reaction from his own use of tone processes, his etchings tend to leave a great deal to be expressed by the white paper. This is so unusual among his juniors that his plates sometimes look a little empty.

Watson himself, was a foundation member of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers. His work was honest and sound and he had a power of rendering the detail of Gothic architecture without niggling, and without losing sight of the design as a whole. Some of his etchings have almost the appearance of pen-drawings, and he tended a little too much to the effect of the vignette. Watson's wife and pupil, better known as Minna Bolingbroke, has produced a number of plates in a manner similar to those of her husband.

Other women etchers of the older generation may also be mentioned. Hester Frood chooses by preference the more picturesque medieval towns of the Continent. Her manner is frankly based on that of D. Y. Cameron, but there is sufficient originality in her work to make it pleasing. In *Avignon*, she uses with skill a system of horizontal lines in order to convey an impression of immense solidity and profound quietude.

Katherine Cameron, Sir D. Y. Cameron's sister, has also produced a certain amount of etched work, with a delicacy and charm of its own. She has

specialised in flower subjects, but has done some landscapes in her brother's manner.

Anna Airy is well known as a pastelist and as a flower painter. Such an etching as *A Cast of Dice* is surprisingly vigorous in design. Dorothy E. G. Woollard studied first under Reginald Bush and then with Sir Frank Short at South Kensington. She has a summary, vigorous style, and has produced some attractive plates of river-shipping and landscape. Lately she has taken to stipple-engraving.

The direct influence of Cameron can be seen in the etchings of W. C. Montgomerie. His *Loch Katrine*, with its heavy drypoint shadows, its wide space of water, and its outlined hills beyond, is an attractive plate in Cameron's manner.

Frederick V. Burridge was influenced by Short, and he has retained something of the latter's way of looking at landscape. This is most noticeable in such river-scenes as *Wisht Weather* and *The Pride of North Devon*, the latter being one of the best plates Burridge has produced. His knowledge of technical processes is very great, and many of the younger generation owe a great deal to his instruction. Like Short he is fond of experimenting, and has made in some of his plates an interesting use of sand-grain.

Percival Gaskell is one of the best original aquatinters and mezzotinters now working in England. In his etchings he enjoys depicting wide sweeps of country, with immense recession, and either very flat as in *Ploughing in Purbeck* or fantastically mountainous as in *Santa Maria del Sasso, Locarno*.

Sydney R. Jones is perhaps best known as an architect and pen draughtsman, but he has produced a certain number of scholarly etchings of architecture, notably of Cambridge Colleges. Noel Spencer has repeated in etching the shipping subjects which he has used in his decorative lacquer panels.

There is a certain uncouthness in the technique of Robert Spence which seems to fit him for his favourite subject: English life in the seventeenth century. By that it is not meant to imply that Spence does not handle his medium capably, but that there is in his work something of the angularity, the refusal of elegance, which characterises the work of Strang. He had no regular training as

an etcher, and he has won his place in the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers by his sincerity and imagination. His best work depicts a series of incidents from the life of George Fox, but he has also illustrated the journal of Pepys, and etched incidents from the lives of Cromwell and Isaac Walton. There are also several plates inspired by Wagner.

Malcolm Osborne, who had studied in the Etching Class at South Kensington at the beginning of the century, returned early in 1924 to become Principal of the Engraving School in succession to Sir Frank Short. During and immediately after his student days, original etching was understood and appreciated only among a few. Laborious etched reproductions of paintings were still in demand, and Osborne was employed by the print-sellers on several large and difficult plates after such artists as Alma-Tadema. The increasing interest of the public in etching enabled him to turn to more congenial work, and he produced a series of sombre little English landscapes, at Amberley in Sussex, and after that a Scottish Set, of which the best known is the drypoint, *The Heart of Scotland*.

He found himself in 1913, during a journey in the Touraine country, with its magnificent opportunities for the semi-landscape, semi-architectural, etcher. The war years left little mark on his etched work, but on his return he occupied himself with a London series. He has since found inspiration where many etchers have found it, at Le Puy. His portraits are, in some ways, the most attractive part of his *œuvre*. Of these the best known is his *Nathaniel Sparks, Esq.*, and he has produced an excellent plate of the *Gaekwar of Baroda*.

Nathaniel Sparks himself is a sensitive etcher, with a talent for portraiture, and a sense of design in landscape. Great play is made in his plate of *Canterbury* of the contrast between the hardness of the architecture and the fluffiness of the trees and corn.

Alfred Bentley was the inseparable companion of Osborne from their student days together under Sir Frank Short, until Bentley's death in 1923, his constitution undermined by his experience in the war. Bentley was an etcher of no great originality, but of considerable charm. His technical mastery commanded respect even when he was most obviously derivative, and he under-

stood the limitations of etching and never tried to force his effects. His best plate is perhaps the drypoint called *The Charm of the Valley*. He had a real feeling for great stretches of country, expressing the whole wide sweep of a moor, and the long clouds above it, with considerable success.

W. Lee-Hankey had explored the possibilities of Picardy before it became well-known through the Great War, but among a generation of landscape-etchers he has become best known as one who etches the figure by preference. His drypoints form a gallery of French peasant types, and if there is in his work a certain monotony of subject, and a certain over-sweetness in treatment, these limitations do not obscure his genuine feeling for the vicissitudes of common life, and his power of transferring his emotion to copper. His delight in the grace and spontaneity of unspoiled youth is shown in such plates as *Denise* and *Marie of the Fields*, but his most characteristic plates are his studies of old, lined faces as in *Loup de Mer* or *The Blind Grandmother*.

Inspired by a similar outlook on life is some of the work of John M. Aiken, but he is also a landscapist with considerable power of rendering the bleakness of the Scottish countryside.

Martin Hardie is an artist of sensitiveness and distinction, who is also Keeper of the Engraving Department at South Kensington and Honorary Secretary of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers. He learned his technique under Sir Frank Short, but the soundness of his traditions has not spoiled the individuality of his vision. His is a refined and delicate talent founded upon good draughtsmanship and an exquisite sense of atmosphere. His dominant mood is seen to advantage in such a restful composition as *The Sleeping Ferry*, but his recent journeys in Italy have resulted in several successful plates, of which the best known is *The Bridge, Chioggia*.

Leonard Squirrell excels in depicting lanes between hedgerows and all the effects of sun upon foliage; W. P. Robins has a masterly knack of drawing trees in a gale, but it is a pity that this ability has led him to fill too many of his plates with rain and tempest. Still, his *Haymaking on the Waveney* is a beautiful etching both for its simplicity and for the vastness of the space which he has been able to express on the copper.

The etchings of Fred Richards have an undeniable decorative quality, as well as being accurate and sensitive architectural studies. He makes great use of the white paper to assist his design, and lingers over the details with loving care. To the present writer there always seems in his work a touch of the fantastic, a sprightly whimsicality, as if the houses he depicts were fairy houses. His *Old Houses on the Arno* is an example of this quality in his work, and it becomes very noticeable if we contrast such a plate as the one mentioned with E. D. Roth's *Grim Florence*. The subject is almost the same, the resulting mood, how different! One of the best of Richard's plates is *The Bridge, Siena*.

Francis Dodd is one of the best portrait etchers now working in England, and he has produced excellent plates of his fellow artists—Muirhead Bone, Henry Rushbury, Charles Cundall. He is not afraid of "subject"; in fact he sometimes approaches the anecdote in his etching. Plates like *On the Lawn*, and *Still Raining* remind one of Pinwell rather than of any more recent artist. *The Garden Door* is perhaps his best known work, and it deserves its fame for its brilliant rendering of effects of light, and for the exquisite modelling of the face in shadow. He has also produced some fine architectural plates, notably his *Piazza Venezia, Rome*, and his *Strand* with the church spire vividly silhouetted against a dark sky.

Successful etched portraits are still sufficiently rare to make those of E. S. Lumsden of considerable interest. Etched portraiture is, no doubt extremely difficult; one cannot "arrange the composition" of a face with the same ease as is possible with a landscape, and mistakes cannot be rectified by "painting over." The art implies, indeed, a very high level of draughtmanship as well as considerable insight into character. The very fact that, in etching, a face has to be represented by lines requires a further degree of abstraction on the part of the artist. Most of Lumsden's portraits, like those of Dodd, are of his fellow-artists, and he has been especially successful with *Brangwyn* and *Sir Frank Short*. But perhaps the best of all is his subtle portrait of Malcolm Salaman, the well-known connoisseur of prints, leaning back in his chair, with eyes half closed, in one hand a cigarette and in the other, the inevitable etching.

But Lumsden has not specialised in portraits, and he is perhaps best known

for his series of plates of the Far East. He travelled through British Columbia to Tokio, thence to China, and on to Burma and India. Benares, especially, fascinated him, and it was in that city that he produced some of his most successful etchings. He learned there, above all, to express bright sunlight without exaggerated shadows, and to use the detail of Indian architecture, without pedantry, for the purposes of his own design. He is an acknowledged master of technical processes, and has written one of the best books on the art of etching produced during recent years.*

Another etcher who prefers an Eastern subject matter is Charles W. Cain. His set of six drypoints, *From Basrah to Baghdad*, sets the tone of most of his work. He excels in suggesting the Oriental quiet of lands whose flat horizons are broken only by a group of suitably decorative palms. There is a calm in his work, sometimes the calm of a sultry sky, sometimes the deceptive calm of an Arabian night, with something ominous lurking in the dark shadows. His titles—*A Peaceful Quiet*, *In Silent Waters*, *Ezra's Tomb* sufficiently indicate his prevailing mood. One of the best things he has done is his *Daughters of Israel, Baghdad*.

Until recently the etched work of Joseph Simpson was better known in Glasgow than in London. At first glance Simpson seems a disciple of Zorn, but there is nothing slavish or derivative about his work. If he resembles Zorn it is chiefly on account of the vigour of his handling, and his trick of diagonal shading. He is as persistent a self-portraitist as Rembrandt, and like him, loves to depict himself in endless varieties of costume. His *Man in an Old Hat* is a self-portrait, and so is his amusing *Priest*. His *Frank Brangwyn*, R.A. is one of his best plates.

John B. Souter is a distinguished etcher whose work is still less familiar than it deserves to be. *An Aberdeen Minister*—perhaps his best known plate—is typical of his quiet, reticent, yet competent handling; and the sympathetic gravity of his approach is shown to great advantage in the huddled, sleeping figures of such a plate as *Nirvana*. Souter's willingness to experiment is shown in the curious net-work shading of his *Nude Reclining*, and in the daringly foreshortened *Model Resting*. In *Keith Leask* he depicts a gnarled face, full of character, with as much

*See *The Art of Etching*, by E. S. Lumsden, A.R.S.A., London, 1925.

understanding as he showed in his portrait of the Scottish minister. But his most interesting plate is perhaps *Gran Via, Madrid*.

A great deal of modern etching is architectural, although architecture may be approached in many different ways. A certain preoccupation with hugeness is to be found in the work of William Walcot. His reconstructions of the triumphal arches of Imperial Rome, as in his *Entry of a Consul*, or of the pylons and obelisks of Ancient Egypt, as in his *Egyptian Palace*, leave no doubt of his capacity for imaginative insight into the past. But he turns with no less enthusiasm to etch long vistas of American sky-scrapers, as in his excellent drypoint *Park Avenue, New York*. What interests Walcot is the imagined life going on in the shadow of his colossal buildings.

Another etcher who is more interested in the people that move about among great buildings, than in the buildings themselves, is Stanley Anderson. His treatment of architecture is capable and conscientious, but he seems most at home when he is depicting street types with a touch of kindly satire, as in *Venus and Adonis*, or with a sense of the perpetual tragedy of the very poor as in *The Arches*. He has considerable vividness of invention in filling a wide open space with a multitude of little figures, none of them carelessly seen. Arthur J. Turrell's *Procession of Sta Maria della Grazia, Milan Cathedral*, is an effective combination of human and architectural motifs.

The etcher who carries on what might be called the Bone tradition in architectural etching is Henry Rushbury. In method and choice of subject he is very similar to Bone. It is the buildings themselves and their relations to one another that fascinate him. For the romantic associations of a place he cares very little, being content to set down with a meticulous accuracy, which never loses sight of the main design, the details of a *façade*, of a row of chimney pots or of a church tower. He has a particular delight in sunlight falling upon stone, modifying its apparent texture, and throwing into relief its sculptured outline.

One of his best plates is *L'Ile de la Cité, Paris*, a subject, one would think, over-etched already, but here seen from a new and interesting point of view. Notre Dame is nothing but two square towers in the far distance. The middle of the plate is occupied by a huddle of tall houses in sunlight, and striking across

the middle distance is the black length of the Pont Neuf. The great width of the design in relation to its height makes the plate something of a *tour de force*.

There is a cleanness about all Rushbury's work, a pureness of outline, and a depth and luminosity of shadow, which makes it most attractive. In the handling of the drypoint he has few equals and perhaps no superiors save Bone himself.

In striking contrast is the work of Edmund Blampied, a native of Jersey, who has imported a foreign note into British etching by his admirable delineations of peasant life. Even his earliest work had obvious qualities—vitality of design, power of rendering movement, sense of form and quick human sympathy. His work was never haphazard; but he has attained within the last few years a Daumier-like solidity and stability, and few artists have rendered the little incidents of country life with such convincing sincerity. He has great feeling for form, even when his work is most linear, and in his most recent plates has been experimenting with night scenes and a dramatic use of chiaroscuro. He has been particularly successful in representing horses in movement, either the heavy lumbering gait of farm-horses, as in *Splashing through the Surf*, or the flashing quickness of a race, as in *The Tumble*. A similar technique has been adopted by John Nicholson in his plates of farm subjects.

Among etchers of the sea, a high place in England is now held by Arthur Briscoe. The details of rigging are as familiar to him as the palm of his hand, for he has spent the greater part of his life in small boats, cruising, often single-handed, along the English and French coasts. He has also shipped on board large sailing vessels in order to gather the material for his etchings of yards being manned and sails being furled. Perhaps no recent etcher except McBey has succeeded in conveying so fully the weight of water, its surge and backwash, the heavy oily roll of it, or, when it breaks, both the force and the transparency of its falling spray. Even in such a plate as *Setting the Topsail*, where the sea is represented by a few scribbled lines, it is possible to feel the lift of the vessel and the thump with which it settles down once more into the trough.

His early reputation was made with water-colour drawings and it was not until 1924 that he took up the etching needle. He soon mastered the technique

of etching and already, in 1925, was able to etch so admirable a plate as *The Burst Topsail*, a beautiful design of solid spars and torn flapping canvas, and the clinging figure of the sailors, trying to stow the sail. *On the Main Yard* is one of his best etchings.

Joseph Gray also has etched the sea. He was born on the Northumbrian coast, and his subject matter was familiar to him from his earliest years. It was not until 1922 that he began to experiment with etching, founding himself frankly on the manner of McBey. Since then he has turned his attention to Scottish landscape, but in both land and sea-scapes he relies almost entirely upon the undulating surface for his pattern. There is in his work the very minimum of adventitious interest—on the sea scarcely a sail, on the land, hardly a sign of life.

Norman Wilkinson has produced a number of drypoints characterised by rapid, open shading and a great feeling for spaciousness. His *Cod Fishing on the Great Banks, Newfoundland*, is a very attractive plate. Fishing on rivers also attracts him as a subject. Another artist who has etched the sea is Stanley R. Wilson.

Edmund J. Sullivan is known chiefly as an illustrator who has done good work in other fields than etching. His etchings, until recently, tended to be a little overloaded with literary association. The work of A. Hugh Fisher is less specialised in subject than that of most etchers. He has etched animals with considerable feeling for the texture of fur, has produced a number of portraits, and has made effective studies of architecture in England, Italy, and the Far East.

A painter's interest in chiaroscuro and effects of sunlight is brought to etching by Algernon Talmage. John Copley and his wife Ethel Gabain are best known as lithographers, but both have produced a certain amount of work on the copper. Norman Janes, best known for his work on wood, is a capable drypoint portraitist. A variety of sporting print has been revived by Frank Gillett.

There is a romantic energy in the etchings of Percy Lancaster. His work is vigorous rather than delicate, but he has a power of massing his darks to give stability to his design, which is seen to advantage in such a plate as *Three Old Women*. He is one of the few modern etchers who have had the courage to wrestle with cloud forms.

The reputation of Ernest Cole rests on his work as a sculptor, but, fired by the example of Rodin, he has produced a number of drypoints, which although startlingly unlike conventional work in this medium, have considerable merits of their own. The sculptor's feeling for form is shown by his trick of drawing a head from three or four angles, all on the one plate; and his portrait, *The Artist's Father*, is almost modelled in ink, so vividly do the planes of the face stand out. It is a pity that modern artists are often too severely specialised to enrich one medium with the knowledge of form learned in another, and any attempt to do so deserves encouragement. Another sculptor who has turned to etching is E. H. Lacey, who has recently produced a few plates of great promise.

Modern etching, like every other art, has suffered from the untimely death of some of its exponents. Percy Francis Gethin, whose career was cut tragically short on the Somme in 1916, at the early age of 42, was an Irishman by birth, although it is thought that his family came originally from Wales. He was much influenced by Burridge, and it was under his inspiration that he took up etching seriously about the year 1908. He only produced about twenty plates, all marked by freedom of handling, and unconventionality of outlook.

The Detmolds, Maurice and Edward, were a remarkable pair of twin brothers, both etchers of precocious ability, whose close connection in life was tragically cut short in 1908 by the suicide of Maurice in his twenty-fifth year. They were chiefly interested in birds, and as early as 1898 produced a small portfolio of "Eight Proof Etchings," small designs of birds and fish, treated somewhat in the Japanese manner. They stand apart from the main body of etching by reason of their decorative bias and by their interest in surface texture. Such a plate as *The Long-eared Bat* recalls the triumphs of Jacquemart, and the wings of their *Falcon*, the joint work published in 1904, are treated with an amazing elaboration of detail. Their interest in natural history was sacrificed to their feeling for design, as when one of their *Peacocks* was given a tail three times too long. The recent work of Edward Detmold is concerned with an imaginatively decorative East, full of colossal elephants and strange cattle.

Shepperson's talent was one of singular delicacy and charm. There was nothing of the essential etcher about him; he sought precisely the same effects

in his lithographs; and it is noteworthy that much the greater part of his work on the copper is in drypoint. His real feeling for design saved his plates from thinness, and served to emphasise their essential *chic*. He discovered, or re-discovered, the secret of such a painter as Parmegianino (a secret, indeed, known to every fashion-plate designer) and pushed the trick of "elegance by elongation" to sometimes absurd lengths. Yet the result had a clean spontaneity about it, which made the long-limbed grace of his figures irresistible. His women are all stately or fragile, his men tall, and wonderfully groomed, his foregrounds, noble buildings, his backgrounds, broad acres. Or else he delights to trace the slender form of a nude figure with a seductive, single line.

His plates would almost be *estampes galantes*, if they were but a little more full-bodied. But the sentiments and passions of even the lightest of the women depicted in eighteenth century prints would shatter the fragile frames of Shepperson's heroines. They are not even butterflies—they are thistledown. One has only to compare such a drypoint as *La Surprise* (in which Shepperson has used an eighteenth century costume) with any real print of that period, to realise how near to life Cochin and Moreau were.

The death in 1925 of Francis Unwin was a real loss to the graphic arts in England. His early Italian and French plates were admirable enough, but they showed little trace of the originality which was to be manifested in his later works.

It was in 1917, during a period of convalescence at a farm near Midhurst, that he turned his attention to the English countryside, and produced four or five vivid, virile plates of agricultural life. *Reaping and Binding* is nothing but a few summary strokes, almost reminiscent of the methods of modern French caricaturists like Boutet de Monvel, but he manages to suggest the pull of horse and man, and the curious impeded motion of the machine, in a most convincing manner.

In 1920, however, he was compelled to go to Switzerland, to the Engadine, and it was there that he made the drawings of mountain scenery which were afterwards etched as the Maloja set. They are strong, like the plates that immediately preceded them, but there is in their strength some new quality, austere, and almost spiritual, which sets them apart from the rest of his work.

Unwin's knowledge of rock form would have given pleasure to Ruskin, unless his handling had proved too broad for the critic's taste. A mountain is never a mere shape against the sky, but something with a complicated structure of its own, a body whose bones project, not arbitrarily, but in accordance with definite laws. Unwin's understanding of mountains is shown magnificently in his *Monte della Disgrazia*, where the jagged peaks, the long screes and the snow slopes are all carefully distinguished without any trace of niggling or over-elaboration.

The influence of some of the more advanced continental schools of painting makes itself felt in C. R. W. Nevinson. One of the most striking things about his work is the wide range of his style. He first gained notice, in his painting, with an adaptation of cubism, and this phase of his art is reflected, in his etched work, in such plates as *Southwark* and *From an Office Window*. In these he aspires to a rendering of his effect by means of tone, and, indeed, all Nevinson's work shows his preference for building up a design by means of light and shade, rather than by expressive line. His *Mansion Gates* is almost Palmeresque; his *Broadway* modernist, and in his trick of covering a plate with a network of leaves, half concealing the design underneath, he has learned not a little from the Japanese. All his work is marked by a cleverness which has militated against its success with a public which likes to recognise an etcher at first glance. His best plate, perhaps, is *On Brooklyn Bridge*, but *In Suburbia* is interesting, if only for the daring angle of vision. In such a plate as *Success*, with its stout lady and withered little man in the box of a theatre, Nevison joins hands with the satirical school of British etching.

One of the most potent influences on the younger generation during recent years has been the work of Job Nixon. This artist developed a very individual style of his own, akin to burin-work in technique, and owing a little perhaps to some of the satirical prints of William Strang, such as *The Socialists* and *The Salvation Army*. There is the same angularity in his figures, but a new disposition to relate them to an architectural background. His satire, too, lacks the morbidity of Strang; he has even more feeling for the grotesque, but less sense of the macabre. His large plate of *An Italian Festa*, exhibited at the Royal Society of Painter-

Etchers and Engravers in 1923, first brought him to public notice, and he has etched several Italian plates full of a similar half-satirical spirit. He has now settled down to depict English *genre* subjects, somewhat in the manner of Ostade, one of the most successful of his recent plates being his *Eating-House, Chelsea*. His appointment as assistant to Malcolm Osborne in the Engraving School at the Royal College of Art, South Kensington, came as a shock to the old-fashioned collector and connoisseur, but the soundness of his technique and his mastery of etching processes, as well as the salutary influence he exercised in diverting his pupils from too slavish a pursuit of the landscape tradition, more than justified his appointment.

The movement towards a graver-like hardness of outline is exemplified in the work of Allan McNab. He is so afraid of using "atmosphere" as an excuse for careless drawing that he sometimes seems to forget about it altogether. This occasionally gives his distant buildings the appearance of being toy towns, and his far mountains seem cut out of cardboard. Iain McNab on the other hand, has a pencil-like manner, reminiscent of soft-ground etching.

S. M. Litten works in the manner of McBey, but with considerable originality. His Venice plates are his best; he is fond of night pieces and bold enough to put in twinkling lights. His favourite effects are those of light coming towards the spectator and the mingling of reflection and shadow.

Eliab G. Earthrowl has only been etching for a few years, and has produced less than twenty plates. They are various in subject, and reveal an intimate knowledge of mountain and tree-forms, as well as an interest in harbour and shipping. The drypoint *Midi Duclair* is one of his best plates.

It is only very rarely that Robert S. Austin produces a true etching, and even when he does, his devotion to the burin is still obvious. There is an archaic charm in his work, curiously free from self-consciousness and affectation. He treats his peasant types, his praying women and his more formally religious subjects with sincere understanding and sympathy. He and Stephen Gooden are perhaps the most striking examples of the new enthusiasm for the use of the burin, which is not without its influence on modern etching.

The reputation of Percy Smith rests largely on his series of seven plates called

The Dance of Death. It is an old convention, but if anyone were competent to breathe new life into it, it would be a young man whose early manhood fell during the period of the Great War. Even so, such a series might have been merely horrible, or horribly sentimental, but Percy Smith avoided both dangers, and in *Death Awed*, perhaps the best plate of the series, he achieved a height of tragic intensity which makes criticism difficult.

His method of work is the extreme opposite of that advocated by Haden and Whistler. His etchings are never sketches, but deliberately matured designs. *The Dance of Death* somewhat overshadows his other work, but he has done some admirable drypoint illustrations to *Wuthering Heights*, which should not pass without notice. Such a recent plate as *The Singing Beggar* shows a fine sensibility.

Vernon Hill is known as a visionary artist of considerable power, who has produced wood-carvings, bronzes and drawings as well as etchings, all marked by the same intensity of vision. He excels in depicting super-human forms in violent action, and is one of the few modern artists who can personify winds and dews without being absurd. His technique is curious, as his outline is something like graver-work, and he gets his shadows by a system of cross-hatching with broken lines. He is sufficiently outside the run of fashionable etching to promote interest in his future development.

Allan Gwynne-Jones has produced a number of etchings marked by an engaging frankness and simplicity of outlook. His technique is a return to that of the eighteenth century, but to Canaletto rather than to Piranesi.

The best work of Raymond Ray-Jones has been in etched portraiture, notably the large self-portrait and the plate known as *Lamplight*. In both these the exquisite modelling of the faces rivals that of Brockhurst. In architectural etching his manner is dignified and accurate, with a certain "tightness" and lack of atmosphere. He strikes the critic as a very reserved artist who would do still better work with a little more confidence.

Sidney Tushingham works in more frankly pictorial fashion. He has done some Italian plates, and delights in the fantastic outline of Spanish architecture. Graham Clilverd is most successful when the architecture he depicts has a certain grandiloquence of its own, as in *Arc de Triomphe, Paris*, or *Porta Romana, Florence*.

The austerity which was seen in the early work of Ian Strang, has now been modified by an element of symbolism, and human sympathy. A dejected figure walks downhill past *The Prison Gates*; a warning "Silence" stares ironically from the exposed back wall, in his *Demolition of the Empire Theatre*. In his *Preservation of St. Paul's* he has made the most of the contrast between the round arches of the permanent structure and the squareness of the temporary scaffoldings.

A. R. Middleton Todd likes to depict interior scenes, lit by a single concealed light throwing fantastic shadows. The drypoint, *A New String for an Old Tune*, is an excellent example of his method.

E. Heber Thompson has been successful in rendering very vividly some typical scenes of Italian peasant life, while the English charwoman, and similar subjects, have been depicted by the anglicised Dutchman, S. Van Abbé. H. J. Stuart Brown has depicted wide sweeps of English landscape, as in *Distant Windsor*; George Marples in *The First Lamb* knows how to suggest the bitter force of the wind. The beauty of the Scottish Highlands has been vividly rendered by William Rennison. D. I. Smart is principally an etcher of architecture but he delights in long shore scenes, in the wide sweep of a river, and in vivid little figures that bring his scenes to life.

C. F. Tunnicliffe is an accomplished etcher of farm life, who is able to build up the familiar objects of the countryside into designs which possess a curiously monumental solidity. His *Bull* is the best example he has yet produced of a subject seen, not with the "week-ending eye," but with the vision of one who has spent all his life among the rural objects he loves to depict. J. R. K. Duff excels in depicting sheep and J. R. G. Exley poultry.

Another young etcher who has portrayed the farm very happily is Jan Daum; while E. Herbert Whydale has explored the possibilities of the market town and the types of country folk that bring in their wares. Joseph Knight has taught many etchers in Lancashire and has produced a number of attractive plates himself. Aquatint is the favourite medium of W. Westley Manning, but he has a certain number of fine etchings to his credit.

H. Douglas MacLeod owes a good deal to McBey. He has caught his touch of etching "in the eye of the sun," but his personal sense of design saves him from being the mere copyist.

J. H. Harvey concentrates on the texture of old faces in a way which shows a keen eye and a sure hand. James A. Grant has produced some good figure studies.

Kenneth Holmes, a young etcher, has made enormous strides with his last few plates. His *Ponte Aventino* gives him a high place among meticulous modern etchers of architecture. Another etcher of architecture whose work is of unusual interest is H. Gordon Warlow. He has gone back to Hollar for his inspiration, and his cathedral *façades*, intricately handled, with minute figures in seventeenth century or medieval costume, have a real charm of their own.

In recent years England has been singularly rich in women-etchers. Laura Knight has reflected in her bitten work, the pre-occupations of her painting. She tends to specialise in depicting the dressing-rooms of theatres. Her technical methods (use of aquatint) place many of her plates outside the scope of this present survey, but she has produced a number of pure etchings marked by great power of design and a surprising virility of handling. Edna Clarke Hall is more poetical and dreamlike. Winifred Austen is concerned almost exclusively with studies of bird-life. Her strong sense of pattern redeems her work from a certain monotony of subject.

The lady who calls herself Orovida—she is in reality a member of the famous Pissarro family, long settled in England—has done some charming decorative etchings in the manner of Persian miniatures.

Some sound work in etching has been done by Kathleen C. Jefferies, whose *Holford Beeches*, one of her earliest plates, is also one of her most successful. The drypoint shadows are rich and luminous, and the rolling country seen between the stems of the ancient trees is suggested with a felicitous economy of line. She is a quiet artist of real sensibility.

Another young woman etcher, A. M. Elliott, has considerable feeling for the essential lines of great ships, and for their monstrous beauty in dry-dock. She has also spent some time in going over Whistler's ground on the lower Thames, and lately has produced some capable plates of the near East.

The colour-work of Elyse Lord has great decorative appeal, an appeal not sacrificed when she confines herself to monochrome. Her subjects are drawn

almost entirely from a fantasticated China. The individual vision of Elizabeth Fyfe gives to her prints unusual interest. She excels in depicting peasant types in the Schwarzwald, and one of her most successful plates is a religious subject—*The Woman of Samaria*.

Greta Delleany produced, in 1923, an excellent etching, *The Towpath*, which is still one of her best plates. Molly Campbell works, in England, in something like the same satiric vein as Peggy Bacon in America. Other promising woman-etchers are Rosa Hope and Mabel C. Robinson, while good work on the copper has been done by Mary S. Sloane, Lilian Whitehead, Janet S. C. Simpson and Adeline S. Illingworth. The work of C. M. Pott has been already mentioned.

J. H. Dowd has his own public, and within his strictly defined limits is an etcher of great spontaneity and charm. He has a sense both of the grace and the grotesqueness of childhood. *The Model Yacht* is a delightful thing, and in *The Rock Race* he has made the most, for the purposes of his design, of the contrast between the solid squareness of the rocks and the agitated curves of the children. Eileen Soper is another etcher of children, who sees them with an imaginative sympathy, as it were, from the inside, as though she were a child herself.

George Soper was an experienced book-illustrator before he took up the etching needle, and he has imported into his etching an interest in human types and human occupations which is sometimes lacking from the work of those who come to etching by other routes—of landscape painting, or of architecture. He has great feeling for the little details of farm life, and a particular delight in depicting horses in motion. *Burning Twitch* is one of his best plates. Tree forms have been studied by George Gascoyne, who has also done some portrait heads.

Mukel Dey, a young Indian artist who lives in London, has produced dry-points full of the spirit of Moghul paintings. His work is sufficiently different and sincere to merit the attention it has received.

H. Weaver Hawkins has a stimulating sense of pattern in the use of shadow and sunlight. The power of suggesting immense depth by leading the eye onward along a series of cunningly constructed lines is possessed by C. W. Tay-

lor. He is fond of ploughed fields seen in violent perspective and one of his most successful plates is the excellent *Bridgenorth*.

An interest in modern ferro-concrete architecture is revealed in the etched work of Cyril E. Power. His method is to use a heavy drypoint tool, and his line is vigorous to the point of brutality. He is interested in railways, girders, underground tubes, and anything structural, but he has also produced a few more conventional plates of architecture, as in his drypoints of Cambridge colleges.

A young painter who has etched a certain number of plates is John Mansbridge. He has cared nothing for the tradition of English etching and has etched chiefly portraits, using coarse stipple for the faces, and completing the clothes and surroundings without any pre-occupation with etching technique. None the less, his work is both virile and attractive.

Geoffrey Heath Wedgwood is an example of a student who started his career at the Royal College of Art under Sir Frank Short, and ended it under Malcolm Osborne and Job Nixon. It is the influence of the latter which is most apparent in his plates, although no doubt the satirical touch which gives piquancy to his work is as much his own as his master's. He is very conscious of the beauty of intricate machinery, and has been successful in rendering it in such plates as *Coal Hoist* and *The Mammoth, Birkenhead*. But lately the "staffage" of his plates has tended to usurp the chief part of his attention and his grasp of character (preferably of proletarian types) is shrewd and sympathetic.

A group somewhat apart is formed by the "Modern English Engraver-Etchers," a name adopted deliberately to distinguish it from the Painter-Etchers. The difference of name marks a different approach to the medium. Many of those connected with the group have already made their mark as wood-engravers, and there are traces of their old technique in their manner of handling the copper. Eric Gill, for instance, the distinguished sculptor, began as a "white-line" engraver on wood; then a short while ago, he began to print from the wood as if it were a metal engraving, and so he arrived, by a logical process, at his present method of working on copper. He represents a stream of influence in modern etching which cannot be disregarded. Associated with the same group are Esther Willoughby, who achieves a curiously vivid realism in her dry-

point, *Shaftesbury Avenue*, Maresco Pearce, with his somewhat fluffy but effective etchings of the south of France, and Leon Underwood.

One of the most original of the younger etchers is William M. Larkins. He studied under Sullivan, Bentley and Osborne, and the first indication of his talent was shown in 1924 when he etched *Le Quai du Rosaire, Bruges*. It is a pity there is so restricted a market for the small etched plate—say 4in. by 4in.—for, with an etcher who knows his business, the very delicacy of his task seems to concentrate his talent; and there is often a richness in small plates which is too wide-scattered to be felt when the plate is larger. Samuel Palmer never did anything better than *The Sleeping Shepherd*; and one of the best of Larkins' plates is his small *Underwood Street, Whitechapel*, a mean alley with dramatic shadows, and with something of the atmosphere of suspense and terror found in James Pryde's pictures. His most recent developments are of great interest, indicating as they do that absorption in contemporary life which is the mark of the best of the younger men.

CHAPTER X

Etching in the Dominions

AUSTRALIA, so it seems to an outside observer, is first among the British Dominions in enthusiasm for etching and in real accomplishment in that medium. The art even there is of such recent growth that not many Australian etchers are known in England, and the student must still, unfortunately, be content to study the works of most of them in the pages of *Art in Australia*.*

It is only during the lifetime of the present generation that Australian etching has passed out of the stage of promise into that of positive achievement. Etching is a somewhat sophisticated art, and a new country is unlikely to discover it for itself without some stimulus from outside. The work of Duterrau in the 'Thirties and of Conrad Martens in the 'Fifties, prepared the way for future developments, but, as so often, it was the arrival of Hamerton's book which really sowed the seed. *Etching and Etchers* inspired James Oldham in the 'Seventies.

Australia, however, was as likely to be influenced by America as by England. S. E. Koehler's translation of Lalanne's *Treatise on Etching* had had its effect in the United States, and when the American cartoonist, Livingstone Hopkins, came to Australia in 1883, he brought his enthusiasm for etching with him. He himself was not very successful as an etcher, partly owing to public indifference and partly to the style of his work, which gained nothing from the bitten line; but he imparted some of his zeal to others, notably to Julian Ashton, A. Henry Fullwood, Tom Roberts, B. E. Minns and Arthur Streeton.

When Sir Seymour Haden's collection of etchings was dispersed in 1891, certain Whistlers, Meryons, and other modern prints were purchased for the Melbourne Gallery, and these fired the imagination of John Shirlow, whom Mr. Stevens calls "the first of the Australian-born etchers to achieve any distinction in the art." His instruction was gained from Hamerton, and so little was etching understood or practised in Australia at that time, that he was even

*For an excellent historical review of Australian Etching, for which every subsequent writer on the subject must be deeply indebted, see Etching in Australia, by Bertram Stevens, *Art in Australia*, IX (1921), p. 36. See also Etching in Australia, by Lionel Lindsay, *Print Collector's Quarterly*, XI (1924) p. 293.

compelled to make his own tools. It is only recently that his sound work has been at all recognised, or rewarded by public interest, but he has had considerable influence on the younger men.

He seems to have understood from the first what etching could and could not do. He was indeed fortunate in the masters on whom he was able to model his own work, for the very absence of many examples of etching confined his attention to the best in European work, instead of forcing him, like so many English etchers of the same period, to resist the influence of mediocrities and the temptations of the print-sellers to devote themselves to reproductive etching. He is not yet an old man, and his most recent work seems to be his best. He has given himself in the years since the war to depicting the streets of Australian cities, of Melbourne in particular, achieving in his best plates a real decorative appeal, aided by his understanding of differences of biting.

His most brilliant disciple (not pupil, for it was the mere exhibition of the elder man's work in Melbourne which fired the younger artist) was Lionel Lindsay, a member of the energetic family which has done so much to make Australian art known outside the limits of the Continent. Lionel Lindsay is a romantic, without the somewhat erotic obsessions of his brother Norman Lindsay. The latter is an illustrator of copious talent—for a certain type of book—and he brings a robustness to his variations on the eternal theme of the Flesh, which invests his lightly clad ladies with a curious innocence. There is no perversity about them, no great subtlety or sophistication; they are poles apart from the work of the great Beardsley. Yet his plates have considerable decorative value, although they have little or none of the specific qualities of etching.

Lionel Lindsay, although he has experimented widely with aquatint and mezzotint, has a strong sense of the value of the etched line, and has produced some excellent landscapes of the Australian scene. He has, too, a strong sense of period and a feeling for the picturesque which lend attraction, for example, to his etchings of Spain. His early interest in etching lapsed until he came to London, where he etched two plates, of the houses of Kipling and Henry James, in order to demonstrate the process to a friend. On his return to Australia, he found a wealth of subjects ready for his needle, and in 1907 he had his first

exhibition with the Society of Artists. His *œuvre* soon extended to over a hundred plates, and his success has had a great influence in determining other Australian artists to follow his example. His work has a sureness of touch which places it in the front rank of etching in the Dominions.

The difficulties of the would-be etcher in Australia a few years ago are illustrated by the story of Bruce Robertson, who, having failed to find a master in his native place, managed to scrape enough money to come to England and study at South Kensington. The craft of etching was taught to him by Luke Taylor, at the Arts and Crafts School. Robertson worked for sixteen years in England, most of the time being occupied as a decorator, or as a painter in oil and water-colour. He returned to Australia in 1912, and since then has etched the landscape of the country, taking particular interest in Australian trees.

One of the most successful of the etchers who have wrestled with the problem of the Australian countryside is Henri van Raalte, although he is of Dutch origin and was born in England. There the teaching of William Monk set him on the right track, and when, for reasons of health, he went to Australia in 1910 and lived for several years in the bush, he grew to love his surroundings sufficiently to reproduce them with understanding on the etched plate. He has also depicted street scenes in Perth and elsewhere, but his real love is centred in the giant gums which were his first and most abiding impression of the continent.

Another English-born etcher is John B. Godson, who, after a course of study at Newcastle Art School, won a scholarship to the Royal College of Art, and worked in London under Sir Frank Short. His chief interest is in architecture, particularly the more formal architecture of Sydney.

In contrast to these orthodox etchers' careers stands the romantic figure of Victor Cobb, who has in his comparatively short life-time filled many roles, from fireman in a horse-boat to waiter in a restaurant. It was while he was in barracks as a member of the Johannesburg police force (he had gone to South Africa for the Boer War) that he made himself acquainted with etching handbooks, and on his return to Victoria, he took up the practice of the art. He has a great and sincere feeling for nature, and has produced some striking plates of Australian landscape, of which the finest is, perhaps, his *Old Heidelberg Road*,

Victoria. An etcher who shows more trace of French influence is Hans Heysen, who is perhaps better known for his landscape work in water-colour. He has etched a few plates of austere dignity.

One of the astonishing things about Australian etching (owing perhaps to its having entered the field very late, at an epoch of female emancipation) is the large number of feminine names among those who practise the art. Two pupils of Brangwyn, Jessie C. A. Traill and Edith A. Hope have both achieved distinction with the needle. J. W. White was a pupil of Shirlow's and Dora L. Wilson, the only English born among those mentioned, worked out the technique of etching under John Mather. The best of these is perhaps Edith A. Hope, whose studies of wharves and shipping are effective compositions, relying for their success on a vivid balance of light and shade. The influence of Brangwyn is plain not only in the general structure of her designs, but in her use of foul biting to achieve an effect of coarse aquatint tone. Her art, so far, has not drawn much inspiration from the Australian scene, and she has preferred to depict the more picturesque corners of Europe. Eirene Mort, like Bruce Robertson, was instructed in England by Luke Taylor, and passed on her technical knowledge to Sydney Ure Smith.

The latter is now one of the most distinguished of Australian etchers. He has worked out a manner of his own, and is particularly successful in suggesting the sunshine of his native country, and the somewhat hard and utilitarian outlines of its buildings. He has considerable feeling for design, and loves to build up his composition from the accidental shapes of a roughly constructed roof or the edge of a hard shadow. His plates are very simple in construction, and he has little use for the obviously picturesque. His *Gore Bay*, with the gaunt uprights of the boat's masts contrasting with the horizontal of the surrounding country is one of his most successful plates. He appreciates the charm of those relics of an earlier Australia, an Australia which is already beginning to assume a patina and an aroma of its own.

The links in the chain of Australian etching are a matter of sufficiently recent history to make any elaborate search for "influences" unnecessary. Just as Sydney Ure Smith learned his craft from Eirene Mort, so he in turn became the

instructor of David Barker, who made his first reputation during the war, for his humorous drawings. His manner in etching is a little hard in outline, but he understands chiaroscuro, and is most successful when he uses etching as a tone-process, as in *Toolum Mosque*.

Alfred Coffey's manner, in his architectural details, is reminiscent of Cotman, and almost gives the effect of soft-ground. He is fond also of long views, and makes much of differences in biting. Elliott Gruner is more romantic, reaching after some of the effects of Corot without the Barbizon master's intricacy of line. Beside his dreamlike, melancholy plates, those of Herbert Rose look, not hard, but sun-lit and definite, with vivid contrasts and an interest in modern architecture.

Sidney Long works in England, and has been a member of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers since 1920. Other Australian etchers who are doing good work include Frederick A. Campbell, Percy Leason, Cyril Dillon, Vincent Sheldon, and Gayfield Shaw.

Etching in New Zealand has already made considerable progress. One of its best exponents is Archibald F. Nicoll, who has studied in London and Edinburgh, finding many of his subjects in the northern capital. His technique is interesting, and he makes great use of cross-hatching. He is fond of the patterns made by arches, with houses seen beyond. H. Linley Richardson uses the dry-point with great effect in his figure subjects, expressing with equal ease the delicate curves of mature womanhood or the plump grace of the child. His landscape tends to be a little summary. Richard Wallwork has a sprightly invention and a happy knack of composition. Other New Zealand etchers who must be mentioned are Arnold Goodwin, J. McDonald, and E. Warner, and among women-etchers, Minna Arnst, and Flora Scales.

The problems of the transplanting of an artistic culture present almost insoluble problems to the first artists of a "new" country. They are often as incapable of shaking off the art-language of the mother-country as of profiting by it, and a generation of effort is sometimes wasted before they can find the right treatment for their new subject-matter. Fortunately, in our own time, a school of Canadian artists has risen, which has real claims to be regarded as healthily

native. It is true that the dominant influence of the best work comes from Paris, but it is very far from being merely derivative.

The problems confronting the etcher are even more difficult. In theory, it would seem that, if Haden discovered the sound, central manner of etching, there is nothing to prevent a Canadian artist from applying his methods to an entirely different subject-matter. In practice, it is not so simple. Matter and manner are very difficult to separate; and that is why there is always a temptation for the rising etcher of a "young" country to come to Europe, not only to learn his craft, but to find himself in the same atmosphere, and to sit down before the same subjects as his revered masters. The atmosphere of a place is a real thing, and many a young man who feels himself completely incapable of interpreting a country which has never been etched before, may find his work easy, and apparently successful, in scenes where he has the example of older men to guide him.

One of the most important of Canadian etchers, is still Clarence A. Gagnon. He was among the earliest to take up the art, and was etching soon after the beginning of the century. His French blood (his father was a French-Canadian) may have given him a greater sensitiveness and pliability, a quicker response to the aesthetic possibilities of the scenes around him. In Montreal, where he had won a scholarship at the Art school, he came under the notice of an enterprising dealer, who—fortunately or unfortunately—agreed to send him abroad to study. In Paris he worked under Jean-Paul Laurens at the Julian Academy, and naturally concerned himself, apart from a certain amount of figure work, with European landscape. However, he has since turned his attention to French-Canadian subjects, and so done something towards the foundation of a national school.

Gagnon has produced some plates which must rank high in any review of modern etching. There is a painter-like quality in his best work which reveals his interest in colour and tone. His technique is simple, and he has a marked preference for vertical shading, and for suggesting (for instance) reflections in water with great economy of means. At the same time he does not, like so many etchers, rely for half his design on the white of the paper, and he is one of the

few modern etchers who has wrestled with the problem of skies. It has become almost a convention of recent etching that the sky, except for a smudge of tone at the two top corners of the plate, can be left blank. In general the device succeeds very well, as etching is not, by nature, a tone-process, yet it undoubtedly gives many etchings an appearance of airlessness which, in the end, makes for monotony. Gagnon's printing is elaborately careful, and indeed his level of craftsmanship is very high throughout.

Donald Shaw MacLaughlan, although usually ranked among Americans, was in fact born at Charlottetown, Canada, and as, since his early days in Boston, he has lived largely abroad and stands somewhat apart from contemporary American etching, he may be conveniently considered here.

His is probably the most considerable single achievement of any son of the British Dominions Overseas. He has a wide knowledge of the work of the masters, and is almost necessarily an eclectic. A plate like *Cornish Landscape Number One* has obvious affinities with *The Goldweighers Field*, and in his Venice plates, and his Thames etchings, he owes a considerable debt to Whistler, but if he has assimilated much of the great tradition of etching, he has not been swamped by it, and in his treatment of Switzerland there is originality as well as boldness. *The Lanterbrunnen*, and *The Grimsel* have established MacLaughlan as one of the most successful etchers of mountain scenery.

His early work was almost entirely architectural, but of recent years he has shown a marked preference for Enchanted Pools and Sussex Landscapes, and has rendered types of English, Italian and American landscape, with much feeling for the character of each.

It is only the completeness of his technical apparatus which makes his range as an etcher possible. Every process of etching technique, every stage in the production of the finished work, is treated by him almost as part of a religious rite. The day is happily over when members of the Old Etching Club were content to have their plates printed like writing cards, with as much ruthlessness of wiping, and as little individual treatment. Most modern etchers know how to print, very many of them do their own printing, but few perhaps bestow upon the process the care and labour expended by MacLaughlan. Not content with

the mere printing, he always grinds and prepares his ink himself, rightly claiming that some plates need a stiffer ink than others, that sometimes the appropriate tint is warmer, sometimes colder, and that it is only the etcher himself who can properly decide.

The care exercised in the preparation of ink is extended to the choice of paper used. MacLaughlan has scoured Europe for old Italian paper of the 16th or 17th centuries, and has sought carefully for old hand-made Japanese. Sometimes he uses modern hand-made Van Gelder. He has always worked with the needle on the grounded plate without the use of preliminary drawings. For the first ten years or so, he followed the old method of completing the design on the copper and biting it in, obtaining his gradations by liberal stopping-out. His later manner has been to use strong nitric acid, and to draw and etch alternately. This may explain the greater freedom and spontaneity of some of the later plates. The etcher who was only feeling his way in, for example, the *Old Fort at Ambleteuse*, has attained conscious power over his medium in such a recent etching as *Towers and Gardens*.

His drypoints are few, mostly figure subjects or portraits, and not perhaps among his most successful plates. They are to be regarded rather as holiday excursions. It is under the strict discipline of pure etching that he finds his most perfect freedom.

John Cotton is also a native of Canada, and has studied in London, becoming a member of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers. He is a very capable etcher, and it is a pity that he has devoted so much of his time to colour-etching. With a bold and vigorous handling he depicts the romantic architecture of New Mexico. He gets a great deal of sunlight into his plates, and his etchings have an attractive frankness of line which enables him to present the gnarled trunk of a tree or the unevenness of a bad road with a few bold strokes.

The drypoints of Elizabeth Adela Forbes (*née* Armstrong), although not of great importance, have often a charm and delicacy which makes them worthy of mention. She was born in Canada in 1859, but came to London early in life, subsequently spending three years as a student in New York. Etching for her seems always to have been *faute de mieux*, and when she settled in the country, in

Cornwall, at the end of the 'Eighties, the difficulties of having plates printed led to the abandonment of the art altogether. Her instructor and encourager in her work on the copper was Mortimer Menpes, who did some of her printing also. She was most successful with her studies of childhood, when nothing too ambitious was attempted in composition. Her spontaneous, sensitive handling is seen to best advantage in such plates as *Dorothy*—a study of a little girl in her nightgown—and *The Sisters*, a large plate suggestive of some of the work of Lee-Hankey.

The Armingtons are hardly reckoned as Canadian etchers at all, as their time is spent in Paris, and they are in close touch with etching in the United States. Frank Milton Armington is most successful when most romantic, as in his sombre *Hangman's Bridge, Nuremberg*, with its wild sky. Carolina Helena Armington is more lyrical. Some of her best work reflects very ably the out-of-the-world tranquillity of Bruges.

Dorothy Stevens, of Toronto, has etched a number of architectural plates in France and Belgium. In her rendering of *St. Jacques' Cathedral, Dieppe*, she shows her capacity for welding into a coherent whole a straggling structure which offers many pitfalls to the too photographic etcher. She has also produced some dry-point portraits of children, and has done a good deal, by her interest in the technicalities of etching, to encourage the art in Canada.

Percy Grassby was born in England, and many of his subjects are taken from the Old Country, but he has now settled in Canada, and is usually regarded as a Canadian etcher. In his etchings he shows the strong and salutary influence of Haden, and in his drypoints, that of Legros, although he lacks the latter's interest in humanity.

Old Quebec has provided the material for the needle of the Scottish Canadian, H. Ivan Neilson. He is the only one of the Canadian etchers who has striven for the effects which are usually called Whistlerian. More vividly original is the work of Gyrth Russell, who has devoted himself to depicting the picturesque corners of Halifax, Nova Scotia, his native place.

South Africa, so far, has not produced very much. What etchers there are, are scattered, and unknown to the public, and it is difficult to obtain informa-

tion about them. J. H. Amshewitz, although not born in South Africa, worked there for some years. He is better known as a painter than as an etcher, and his chief interest is still an interest in chiaroscuro. *The Wedding*, a scene in Russian Jewish life is a good example of his method. *The Fortune Teller* is a vigorous plate, full of character and happy in design.

The well-known painter R. G. Goodman, of Cape Town, has etched a considerable number of South African landscape subjects; Mrs. D. Kay of Port Elizabeth has done figure and landscape work, and W. Timlin of Kimberley, who is an illustrator, has etched landscape and fanciful subjects.

CHAPTER XI

American Etching

S. R. KOEHLER, writing in the early 'Eighties of the last century apologises in his book on *Etching** for devoting a whole chapter to America. Such an apology would be out of place to-day. The rapid progress made during the last few years, the number of able practitioners of the art, and the universal interest in etching shown throughout the United States, make it necessary to devote considerably more space to American productions than would have been necessary a very few years ago. Koehler himself is seen, in retrospect, to have had a considerable influence in arousing interest in etching; to have performed, indeed, something of the same service for the art as was performed in England by P. G. Hamerton.

Koehler's chapter is still of interest, although the ground has since been more efficiently covered by Weitenkamp†. As the latter remarks, the early history of etching in America is little more than a record of names and attempts, and there is hardly anything which deserves the name of painter-etching. There was a certain amount of portrait work, and some imitation of English caricature etching by such men as William Charles, David Claypoole Johnston and Frank Bellew.

The influence of engraver's technique and of the use of the ruling machine for obtaining a uniform tone is seen in the work of John Gadsby Chapman, who between 1852 and 1857 etched a series of Italian landscapes and figure subjects. Chapman, however, had an interest in the etching process and published an account of it in his *American Drawing Book* which may have contributed something to popularising the art.

Another American etcher who was in Italy at the same time as Chapman, was George Loring Brown‡. His plates have a certain freedom, as well as considerable poetic feeling, and bear an affinity with some of the etchings issued in London by the Etching Club.

**Etching*, by S. R. Koehler, New York, London, Paris and Melbourne, 1885.

†*American Graphic Art*, by F. Weitenkamp, L.H.D., New York, 1924.

‡His *Etchings of the Campagna* appeared in 1860.

Sporadic attempts were made throughout the 'Sixties and 'Seventies to plant etching firmly on the shores of America. Such men as Sartain, Thomas Moran and S. J. Ferris were interested in etching as early as 1860 or 1861, and in 1866 Cadart, the French publisher of etchings, lit a fire of straw which roared up for a moment in the work of George Snell, of Boston, J. Foxcroft Cole, and Edwin Forbes, who was elected a member of the French Etching Club, and published a series of plates illustrating the Civil War in America. These etchings, issued under the title of "Life Studies of the Great Army" are vigorous studies, but they are interesting chiefly as drawings, as Forbes did not bite or print the plates himself.

Cadart held an exhibition of French Etching in New York City and formed an American branch of the French Society of Etchers. The interest he aroused seems, however, to have died down, although the work of Henry Farrer, and R. Swain Gifford, and the publication in 1868 of Hamerton's *Etching and Etchers* prepared the way for another revival.

This took place in 1877 with the formation of the New York Etching Club, the leading spirits of which were James D. Smillie, Swain Gifford and Leroy M. Yale. These men, unlike the earlier etchers, had a genuine interest in the technical side of the art, and had already mastered some of the subtleties of "fine printing."

Three years later appeared S. R. Koehler's translation of Lalanne's excellent text book, and the same year (1880) saw the publication of the *American Art Review* edited by Koehler, and issuing plates by American etchers.

The example of New York led to the founding of other etching clubs, at Philadelphia and Boston in 1880, and at Cincinnati and Brooklyn in 1882. Sir Francis Seymour Haden's lectures in 1882-84 were a further stimulus, and even the dictatorial manner of the great English etcher was of value, for it stirred up controversy and increased the public interest. The Print Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art was begun in 1883, when W. L. Andrews presented nearly a hundred etchings by contemporary artists. This collection has been increased by the Dick bequest until it now ranks as one of the most important collections of modern etchings in the world.* The development of other great public

*See The Print Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, by William M. Ivins, Junr., *Print Collector's Quarterly*, 1917, p. 103.

collections of prints belongs to a later period. The important point is that by the beginning of the 'Eighties etching had received official recognition in America, and the foundations were laid of its subsequent triumphs.

The work, even of some of the early men is well worth pausing over. Smillie himself never wholly escaped from the effects of his long training as a line engraver, and many of his contemporaries were too absorbed in trying to reproduce the special effects of painting to do free and expressive work with the etching needle. Yet Smillie's *A Fallow Field*, an impression of which appeared in Koehler's book, has qualities both of sensitiveness and breadth. Stephen Parrish is more ordinary in conception and his drawing is sometimes at fault, while Henry Farrer is a little too apt to depend upon the association of a scene rather than on any power of design. C. A. Platt was a very competent architect and painter as well as an etcher. His etching he learned under Stephen Parrish and he practised it in the intervals of constructing country houses, and planning gardens. There is an honest directness about his work which is the reflection of his manner with the brush. It is possible to admire his *Rue du Mont Cenis*, *Montmartre* for its own sake, without thinking, as Koehler bids us do, of the first chapter of *Little Dorrit*.

Charles A. Vanderhoof showed considerable capacity for exploiting the peculiar qualities of drypoint. R. Swain Gifford was one of the first to realise the possibilities of the American scene. He specialised in the New England coast, but also produced plates dealing with Venice, Holland and the East.

The large and pretentious plates of Thomas C. Farrer are much less successful than the etchings of Henry Farrer, whose *Sunset*, *Gowanus Bay* had some of the qualities of Haden. Kruseman van Elten was a quiet etcher—trees by still pools—whose work now looks oddly old-fashioned, much more so than that of most of his contemporaries.

The Moran family produced some etchings of merit. Peter Moran is best known for his cattle-subjects, but he had a somewhat fussy interest in surface texture which detracts from the value of his work. Thomas Moran delighted in the fantastic in subject, and in technique evolved a kind of mezzotint of his own, consisting of etched lines reinforced by roulette-work. Thomas Moran's wife was also an etcher, with a preference for landscape.

The success of Whistler turned the eyes of etchers to Venice. Duveneck, indeed, preceded him there, and other Americans who were there at the same time were Otto Bacher and Theodore M. Wendel.

Frank Duveneck was born as long ago as 1848 in Covington, Kentucky. In the early 'Seventies he was studying in Munich under Wilhelm Diez. At the end of the same decade he was in Italy, and in the intervals of painting he produced a number of Venice etchings, extremely like Whistler's in manner. They suffer from the inevitable comparison, and are so frankly derivative that they have obscured rather than advanced Duveneck's fame as an etcher.

Otto Henry Bacher was eight years Duveneck's junior, and had been his pupil in Cincinnati. He did not follow Duveneck to Munich, but studied in Paris under Carolus-Duran and others. Some of his plates of Venice have a real feeling for atmosphere and a power of suggesting much with a few lines, but, as Koehler remarks, his figures are sticks. Less important is the work of Charles Corwin, who also produced a number of Venetian plates.

Joseph Pennell is a somewhat puzzling figure. The definiteness of his own opinions, and the warmth with which he was wont to express them, tend to make an estimate of his work almost a personal matter of like or dislike. A disciple of Whistler, who could not endure Whistler's other disciples, an apostle of Whistler's manner whose temperament (bating a certain quarrelsomeness) had so little in common with that of his master, he tempts the later critic to judge him by his own professed standards. His etchings are clamorous where Whistler was quiet, vigorous where Whistler was content to be delicate, and in their full-blooded acceptance of the modern world, far remote from Whistler's feminine fastidiousness.

His devotion to the greatest American etcher and (as he was a little too fond of reiterating) to one of the two greatest etchers of all time, had something fine in its complete prostration. It would have had something pathetic about it, too, had it not served Pennell's own turn so well. For it must be obvious, as we look back over the achievement of both men, that he never really understood either Whistler's aims or Whistler's methods. Yet there is no doubt that his misunderstanding was a large part of the source and inspiration of his art.

Dr. Singer, writing in 1909, placed Pennell's style of architectural etching even above Whistler's, because he had more sense of the character of a place. Whistler neglected his subject in order to concentrate on the beauty of his own interpretation.* Pennell (to his eternal credit) would have been the last to agree, although he would certainly not have admitted that his real relation to his master was that of the populariser of a fine tradition.† He transformed Whistler's "capricious line" into a formula, and the elder artist's atmospheric vibration became for Pennell an excuse for allowing his contours to be lost in light. Yet there is no denying the vigour of his handling, or his power of seizing the superficial aspect of a place at a glance and setting it down with a few bold strokes. He was the greatest of pictorial journalists, and many have since limped along the path he trod with so much confidence. Already in the 'Eighties he had sketched in Tuscany, set down the essential lines of English Cathedrals, and, for a book of P. G. Hamerton's, had noted his rapid impressions of French rivers. His first trip to Spain was made in order to illustrate a reprint of Washington Irving, and at the beginning of the new century, he was once more in London recording his impressions of the East End.

His energy and enterprise seemed boundless, but it was not until the opening of the St. Louis Exhibition that he was fascinated by New York, and produced what for many has come to seem his most characteristic achievement. He was amazed by New York, the new New York which had grown up during his absence in Europe, and he set himself to depict its "skyscrapers" with a romantic enthusiasm. He must be given the credit of having been one of the first to think "skyscrapers" beautiful, and of having made himself, therefore, one of the prime movers in an aesthetic revolution. His feeling for the grandiloquent in architecture and natural scenery was honest enough to be independent of tricks of association. His very concentration on the visual was of service to him, and prevented him from being the victim of a Baedeker-inspired glamour which has kept

*See *Some American Etchings by Mr. Joseph Pennell*, by Hans W. Singer. *International Studio*, 1909.

†For a brilliant analysis of the relationship see *Die Graphik der Neuzeit*, von Curt Glaser, Berlin, 1922.

too many American etchers away from the beauties and wonders of their own country.

He came to look upon gasometers and smoking chimneys as others have looked upon mosques and minarets, and in doing so performed a definite service in enlarging the scope of the common sensibility. Pittsburgh and Chicago, the Five Towns in England, the industrial regions of France, all inspired his ready pen, pencil, lithographic chalk, etching needle—whatever happened to be handy. The war brought him new opportunities, and he used them with the headlong eagerness of his nature. It is not the place here to discuss his literary output. His style is either stimulating or intolerable, according to the temperament of the reader. He seems to take a delight in being aggressive and irritating. But as Miss Cary remarks in an article on Pennell, soon after the artist's death, he kept his intolerance out of his drawing. "In the books . . . plenty of wilful contradiction and excess—elsewhere none. It is doubtful if the output of any artist with so many items in his sum can boast a smoother texture, a quieter flow of tendency, a greater blandness of total effect."*

His enthusiasm for such technical processes as the printing of etching never failed, and although he had not the delicacy of a Goulding, nor the elaborate conscientiousness of a Short, he knew the effect he desired, and seldom missed it. He remains a notable figure, with an important place in the history of American etching.

Of the women etchers of an older generation, the most important are Mrs. M. Nimmo Moran, already mentioned, and Mary Cassatt.† Of Mary Cassatt's part in the Impressionist movement in Paris, and of her friendship with its most distinguished members, in particular Degas, it is not necessary to speak here. Her work on the copper is, for the most part, in pure drypoint, although she made some experiments with aquatint ground. An open expressive line serves to indicate her figures, and any elaboration there is, is usually concentrated in the face. Her understanding of the instinctive gestures and natural poses of children

*See Joseph Pennell: A Note, by Elizabeth Luther Cary. *Print Collector's Quarterly* XIV. (1927) p. 51.

† For a complete list see *American Graphic Art*, by F. Weitenkampf, New York, 1924.

was remarkable, and she chiefly delighted in depicting mother and child together, usually a plump naked child with a very maternal woman putting on its socks, or carrying it to the bath. Her studies of women alone were perhaps less successful. Her work as a whole has not been so much appreciated as it deserves to be, because a certain happy sternness of her character led her to reject all those appeals to sentimentality which are so difficult to resist in dealing with her chosen subjects.

Another figure etcher was Anna Lea Merritt, who spent much of her time in London. Eliza Greataorex was one of the first to exploit the possibilities of New York, before it was the Cyclopean city it has since become. Many of the wives of etchers seem to have etched also, as we find, in addition to Mrs. Nimmo Moran, Mrs. Emily Moran (the wife of Peter) and Mrs. J. H. Twachtman.

John H. Twachtman himself was a true etcher whose work was hampered by his lack of pecuniary means, a lack which forced him to the uncongenial task of teaching drawing at the Art Students League. He had studied under Duveneck in Cincinnati and in Venice, and his etched work resembles the etched work of his master, in some respects, very closely. Through Duveneck of course, he reached back to the later manner of Whistler, and achieved something of the latter's delicacy in effects of light and atmosphere. His work is characterised by an almost extreme sketchiness, a sketchiness which sometimes results in the "scrappy" appearance of a plate like *Weeds and Mill*, *Holland*, and sometimes in a fine plate like his *Winter, Avondale*, a bleak snow-scene into which the artist has managed to pour a peculiar intensity of emotion. He left barely twenty plates, four of which were made in Holland, three in France, one at Venice, and the rest in Cincinnati and New England.

The drypoints and etchings of J. Alden Weir were all done in the late 'Eighties and early 'Nineties, after which the condition of his eyesight made it impossible for him to do fine work. He was better known as a painter than as an etcher, and the complete list of his plates comprises barely a hundred. But his enthusiasm for etching never abated. He was a member of the New York Etching Club, and one of the founders of the Painter-Gravers of America.

His own etchings are so many "painter's holidays" and they have their own

charm for that very reason. His technique is curiously unprofessional, and he cared more for the rapid recording of the mood of the moment than for any elaborating of the technical lessons learned from earlier plates.

His American subject-matter was similar to that of his friend Twachtman—they both delighted in the eastern farm—but Weir was very much drawn to the figure drypoint.

One of the most interesting of those artists who have come to America early in life is Charles F. W. Mielatz. He was born at Breddin, in Germany, in 1860, and died in New York in 1919. Unlike so many who were native-born Americans, he had no wish to go abroad for his subjects, but confined himself entirely to the American scene. His *œuvre* extends to some three hundred plates, mostly of architecture and landscape. He was taught etching by J. J. Callahan the amateur, and became so fascinated by the art that he ended by devoting all his time to it. His subjects were selected for their picturesqueness and his manner tended somewhat to over-elaboration. His interest in technical matters gave rise to endless experiment, and frequent combination of processes. His first etched work was produced in 1883, and he was one of the most energetic members of the New York Etching Club, from his election in 1890 to the club's dissolution. For fifteen years he was chief instructor in etching at the school of the National Academy of Design, and so occupied a somewhat similar position to that of Sir Frank Short in England.

More than a hundred of his plates—etchings, drypoints and aquatints—depict aspects of the city of New York, and form a valuable record of the rapid changes which have taken place in the last two decades. One of his most impressive plates is the large etching (with aquatint) of *Edgar Allan Poe's Cottage at Fordham*.

The writer on contemporary American etching is faced with an almost impossible task. From the casual opinion held by too many English collectors, that there are few or no etchers of importance in America, he is driven to the opposite conclusion, that there are so many that it is impossible to attempt any analysis of their work. Etching indeed, bids fair to become the national art of the United States, with groups, and schools and geographical divisions, which make its study even more confusing to the outsider.

The men who carried the technical traditions over the years of public indifference, and who were the teachers of the new generation, were Smillie, Mielatz, Vojtech Preissig, George Senseney, Pennell and Charles Henry White. The etched work of some of these has been already dealt with.

The peace, elegance, and old-fashioned refinement of certain quarters of Boston have been admirably portrayed by Charles Henry White. That he is not the slave of an accepted picturesqueness is, however, proved by his etchings of factories etc. in Pittsburgh, and by his impressions of New York.

Somewhat similar in feeling are the etchings of Childe Hassam. They tend to be light in key, full of sunlight, sometimes suggesting the shapes of things by a summary stroke rather than by a complete contour. At the same time he has considerable range both of subject and treatment, and has been successful in evoking a kind of classical pastoral, with white figures of nymphs and shepherds walking against the background of the woods. His interiors with figures are marked by sensitiveness and refinement. His is a delicately poised talent moving in well-ordered surroundings, yet it does not lack virility, and few would deny the sincerity of its vision. In a drypoint like *Washington's House* he has simplified his technique in the manner of some of the modern Frenchmen, and his tree-forms and shadows are rather indicated than expressed.

A romantic imagination informs the architectural visions of Louis Orr. He was born at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1879, of a family with artistic traditions. In 1906 he went to France and, like so many of his compatriots, worked for a time in the Studio of J. P. Laurens, but it was not until four years later that he produced his first etching. Clément Janin has pointed out* the influence on his work of Piranesi. There is a trace too of the manner of Lepère. Most of his plates are of scenes in Paris, and all are marked by the same passion for the picturesque. One of his most successful is the dramatic *Retour des Pêcheurs*, with the four black sails silhouetted against a wild sky.

Cadwallader Washburn was already known as a painter when he began to etch in 1903, and produced a Venice series, as so many other etchers have done. While in Paris he met and admired the Spaniard Sorolla, and in order to bene-

*Louis Orr, par Clément Janin, *Print Connoisseur*, III. (1923) p. 370.

fit by his teaching, spent two years in Madrid. He travelled widely, even to Japan, but returning to America, produced some twenty drypoint landscapes of Maine, to be known as the "Norland" series. This was in 1907.

Ill-health drove him two years later to the milder climate of Mexico. He became fascinated by the architecture of the country, for which his residence in Spain had prepared him. The ultra-baroque, with its peculiar native admixtures, its flamboyance, its oriental magnificence of surface decoration, stirred him as he had not been stirred even by Venice. His best-known plate represents the *Templo Parroquialo, Taxco*.

Washburn is of staunch Puritan stock, and a certain austerity comes out even in his delineations of Mexican architecture. In his etchings of New England landscape this is even more apparent. He has always been pre-occupied with effects of light, and some of his most daring and attractive plates have no other subject. *Shimmering Light* is one of his most interesting, and a variation on the same theme has been attempted in his *Makers of Grain*.

His treatment of the human face is particularly sensitive. His *Self Portrait* (reflected light from copper plate) is most delicate in moulding, and his sense of character, even in depicting racial types, is seen to advantage in the difference which he has been able to indicate between *Distinguished Navajo Indian* and *Indian Outcast*. His bull-fighting plates are something of a tour-de-force. He is one of the most distinguished of living American etchers.

Another etcher who has worked in Mexico is Charles K. Gleeson, with such plates as *Market Place, Chalula*, and *Courtyard, Puebla*. He has also etched in France, Italy and Spain, and has recently shown signs of the influence of Marin. But, in general, his work is more conservative, and he is attracted by the picturesqueness of *Life on the Seine* or *A Street in Burgos*.

It is interesting to note that as long ago as 1911, Frank Jewett Mather, Junr. discussing the work of Ernest D. Roth, compared him with Samuel Palmer for his love of meticulous detail and his interest in tone rather than in line.

By birth Roth was a German, having been born at Stuttgart in 1879; but at the age of five he was in America, and in early manhood studied under James D. Smillie. In his late twenties he conceived the idea of "etching his way across

Europe," and starting at Florence, he actually reached Constantinople. This was the more remarkable, as he had none of the rapidity and dash of an etcher like Pennell. He had, however, a very real sense of the "atmosphere" of a place, even in his early prints, and he modified his technique to express it. The close hatching which expresses the reserve of *Grim Florence* becomes a system of light flecks to indicate the less sombre mood of Venice. His early training as a landscape painter leads him to take a perhaps excessive interest in surface textures, and yet his plates are never fussy, and he never loses sight of the unity of his design.

Like so many other etchers, Frederick Garrison Hall was trained as an architect. Such a training is often of value in making impossible the excessive sketchiness which seems more likely to happen in etching than in any other art. The mere fact that a line has been bitten, inked and printed gives it an authority in the eyes of many which would be denied to a line drawn with a pencil. But the architectural training is sometimes responsible for a certain dryness in the early plates of those subjected to its influence, and in such an etching as *Boston Public Library* by F. G. Hall there is a squareness and a rigidity about the design which is scarcely mitigated by the too simple device of the diagonal plume of smoke from the steam tractor. His *Old Houses on the Tiber* is a much finer thing; and in his tree-studies he shows considerable power of dealing with the details of foliage.

Another architect-etcher is George T. Plowman, who indeed did not take up etching until he was forty-two. He betrays however nothing of the tightness, and little of the clean line, of the architect. His manner tends to be rugged, almost rough, and such a plate as his etching of *Reims Cathedral* bears, at first glance, almost the appearance of a crayon drawing. Yet where ruins are not in question he adopts a different manner, as in his etching of *The Cathedral, Chartres*, or the *Maison de Balzac*. His draughtmanship is never careless, and the American etcher has imbibed from Sir Frank Short, under whom he studied at South Kensington, something of that master's integrity of craftsmanship. As the first American to enter the engraving school of the Royal College of Art he was a sign of the increasing facilities which the students of both England and America will find, in the future, for the exchange of ideas and the pooling of knowledge.

He has published a book on etching,* and was for a time in charge of the American Army Art School in Coblenz during the Occupation.

In spite of the wideness of his sympathy with other artists, as shown in the good work which he has done as Secretary of the Brooklyn Society of Etchers, the dominant motive of John Taylor Arms' own etching is undoubtedly his passion for Gothic architecture. His interest in the very gargoyles, however, has not blinded him to the essential forms of Gothic, and he must have been one of the first American artists to realise how very Gothic modern American architecture is. *An American Cathedral* was a theme, perhaps, obvious enough, but it is noteworthy what Gothic feeling the artist has managed to express in his plate of *West 42nd Street*, with the full perpendicular lines of the buildings on the right, and the mediæval mass of the tower straight ahead. In his gargoyles he has perhaps been too interested in surface texture to realise them as completely as Meryon did in *Le Stryge*, or even as D. Y. Cameron has done in his *Chimaera of Amiens*.

Lester G. Hornby went to Paris early and found, as so many Americans have found, with results not so happy for their art, that the great city suited his temperament. By 1912 he was already becoming known in England, but the War, while it provided him with opportunities, perhaps retarded his recognition.

He belongs to the tradition of Rembrandt. Like that supreme master, he is primarily interested in chiaroscuro, as is evident in two such early plates as *Marchande de Fleurs* and *Passage de la Petite Boucherie*, where the design in each case depends upon the massing of the shadows. This is even more apparent when, as in *La Jardinière—Matin*, he has striven to realise an effect of sunlight. Lines no longer stand as the edges and outlines of things, but, meaningless in themselves, play their inevitable part in building up the effect of the whole work.

His subject-matter is various. He has etched Dutch landscapes, and French provincial cafés, studies of laughing faces in a theatre, and scenes in country fairs. He was very successful with some of his impressions of the War, notably *The Marne Advance at Vaux*, and the *Americans at Chateau-Thierry*. But his favourite subject has always been Paris.

*See *Etching and Other Graphic Arts*, by George T. Plowman, New York and London, 1914.

Here he has no archaeological and few romantic aims. He is well content with the present and is as ready to find what he seeks in a modern poultry market as in the Tour St. Jacques, or the Wall of Clovis. He is not blind to the florid elegance of the *Porte de Valois*, *Palais Royal*, nor unable to appreciate the frail beauty of the flèche of the Sainte Chapelle seen above the massive austere walls of the Conciergerie; yet he is just as interested in the *Rendez Vous des Travailleurs*, or a cheap fruit stall at the corner of the *Passage des Patriarches*.

Another American etcher who has chiefly concerned himself with the architecture—particularly the street architecture—of France is Samuel Chamberlain. After training as an architect in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he went to Europe in war-time and fell so much in love with French towns that he returned to that country as soon as an opportunity occurred. At first he was contented with pencil sketches, but his experiments in lithography in 1923, led him on to attempt work with the etching needle. He rapidly attained mastery of the process and his prints, apart from lithographs, soon numbered a couple of dozen. Most of these were ordinary etchings, but a few were soft-ground, and some were done with the drypoint on zinc.

In subject-matter he is particularly fond of old houses, the natural overhang of their storeys exaggerated by age, as in *A Side Street in Beauvais*. For one who started as an architect his etched work is curiously unlinear. He prints very heavily and makes use of foul biting to give the effect of aquatint. He has great feeling for the romantic and picturesque, and has done a certain amount of work in Spain and Italy. But his main love has been France, and one of his most successful plates is the etching of the *Buttresses of Beauvais Cathedral*.

Franklin T. Wood's etchings and drypoints are few in number, but various in appeal. His editions are usually small, and it was not until his "one-man show" in Boston, in 1924, that he became at all known to the general public, although connoisseurs of prints had been aware of his work for some years. A large proportion of his work consists of portrait heads, fanciful, or taken from life, but one of his most successful plates is *Nocturne, Venice*, in which the effect of lights glimmering on water has been obtained by means of considerable originality of technique.

Another etcher of architecture who must not be forgotten is John C. Vondrous, who after working in the better known "etching grounds" of Europe—Bruges and Venice—has now gone to Czecho-Slovakia, and exploited the infinite possibilities of the city of Prague. Siena, Florence, Vicenza, and the cities of Belgium have engaged the needle of Maurice Achener.

The work of George C. Aid is founded on that of Whistler, and in subject matter he has explored the possibilities of the French countryside, etching such subjects as *La Maison de la Blanchisseuse* with an intimate charm. Many of his subjects have been found in Paris, and he has given his own interpretation of what is perhaps the most frequently etched subject in the world—Le Pont Neuf and L'Île de la Cité. Thomas R. Congdon and Adelaide Vose Congdon have both etched old Paris. The former's *Fountain of the Luxembourg* is a good example of his method. Although conscious of the attractions of New York, Everett Longley Warner has done much of his etching in Europe.

The architectural etchings of Herman A. Webster are marked by great delicacy of handling, yet with true feeling for the main masses of a composition. He was born in New York in 1878 and, going to Paris, for the second time, in 1904, painted for a while under Jean-Paul Laurens. A chance acquaintance with Meryon's etchings, at the Bibliothèque Nationale, made him resolve to give up the brush for the needle. His first experiments were made in the Forest of Fontainebleau, and in the following year (1905) he went to Spain.

His preferences were for picturesque streets, preferably with over-hanging houses, and he has been successful in depicting them in Rouen, Bruges, Marseilles, Paris, and, above all, in Frankfort. Narrow alleys and crowded roofs in sunlight can provide fascinating patterns of light and shade, and these Webster exploited to the full in such plates as *Klostergasse, Frankfort*, and *An Old Court, Sachsenhausen*.

His technique is simple, without cross hatching or many different degrees of biting, in fact there is the suggestion of a pencil-drawing about many of his plates. His integrity as an artist, and his independence of mere qualities of picturesqueness was shown in 1910 when he returned to America, and became absorbed by the new sky-scrapers. He has since turned his attention to pure land-

scape, but his etchings of streets remain, for many, his most characteristic achievement. Recently he has shown signs of developing an entirely new manner, with an interest in night effects and dramatic chiaroscuro.

Another American etcher who studied under Laurens in Paris is George W. Chandler. He has produced etchings of London, and of towns in Italy. In technique he inclines to a certain elaboration of shading, but does not allow it to destroy the balance of light and dark.

Henry Deville managed, while working in an architect's office, to produce a number of plates of New York. These are marked by great restraint of manner, and a patient attention to significant detail, but there is none of the architect's hardness about them. He takes great delight in an intricate structure, as in *Coal Bunkers*, towering above a maze of barges, with the dim perspective of the riverside wharves beyond. He is one of the most attractive of the etchers of the city. Another architect-etcher who must not be forgotten is P. H. Giddens.

The method of H. B. Shope is more impressionist. He seizes an effect of atmosphere more readily than most of his fellow architects. At first glance there is a crudity in some of his work which proves on closer examination to have been carefully considered after all. He resembles some of the modern Frenchmen more than his American contemporaries.

J. André Smith's manner has simplicity and boldness without losing sight of detail. He also was trained as an architect, and has produced a considerable number of New York plates, especially of scenes in Central Park. Smith marks, in some degree, a return to the "open line" of Haden. Addison T. Miller is a "quiet" etcher who manages to impart his own tranquillity even into his etchings of the great city.

E. T. Hurley, a pupil of Duveneck's has a strong sense of arabesque which has produced such plates as *Mount Adams Church*. His trick of vertical shading provides an interesting variation on more ordinary methods.

Alfred Hutty has etched the architecture of Charleston and the *Southern Oaks* of Carolina. He loves and understands trees. *Beverly Beeches* is a most sensitive plate. The new architecture of Chicago and its contrast with older buildings has been admirably exploited by Rose Crosman. Eric G. Scott works in the older

manner, with understanding of the uses to which differences of biting may be put. He has etched in Venice and Paris. New York and Paris have both been etched by Henry Winslow, but he is not interested in the picturesque for its own sake. His design is curiously deliberate, and many of his scenes are frankly composed. In *The Argument*, for instance, the success of the plate depends on the contrast between the solid squareness of the dark pillars against which the two disputants are leaning, and the related curves of the ship's prows, the hanging sails, and the forward tug of the horse.

B. J. Olsson-Nordfeldt has etched in Italy, Spain, and Africa, but some of his best plates reflect the industrial life of Chicago. The *Jew of Tangier* is a portrait study full of dignity and understanding, and his capacity for seizing the vivid contrasts between the old and the new architecture of New York is seen to advantage in his etching of *St. Paul's Chapel*—a Wren-like church with towering buildings behind.

There is restraint and dignity in the unpretentious etchings of Katherine Kimball. Katherine Merrill has shown herself capable of rendering the distinctive features of two such different cities as Chicago and Canterbury. Another etcher of Chicago is Philip Ayer Sawyer, who has also produced some telling studies of dogs. An etcher who had depicted both the Middle West and the romantic South is Earl Horter. The sombreness of modern industrial life—not the majesty of the machines but the misery of the men—is well-expressed by Arthur Allen Lewis in such a typical plate as his *Gowanus Canal*.

The foundation in 1910 of the Chicago Society of Etchers was a landmark in the history of etching in America. When it was formed all other American etching clubs were extinct. It had at the beginning only twenty members; it has now more than a hundred and thirty, in all parts of the world. Earl H. Reed, who has specialised in depicting the country ("Duneland") lying along the shores of Lake Michigan was, appropriately enough, its first president.

By the ingenious device of associate members (laymen who contribute to the funds, and in return receive an annual publication) financial stability was ensured, and the society is able to maintain travelling collections throughout the country as well as to organise a large exhibition, shown each year in the Art In-

stitute, Chicago. In awakening the great interest in etching shown throughout America at the present time, the Chicago Society has played no small part, while the energetic secretaryship of Bertha E. Jaques has steadily increased the Society's influence and reputation. She has herself been etching for many years, and beginning when technical instruction was hard to come by, learned the technical elements from the books of Lalanne and Hamerton, and mastered the art by dint of experiment. She has etched in Italy, in Holland, and in England, with rare understanding of the character of each, and has produced a series of etchings of plants, printed in colour, perhaps her most original contribution to the movement which she has done so much to stimulate and encourage.

The universities of America have been etched by Thomas Wood Stevens and Helen B. Stevens. Robert Fulton Logan has etched architecture, in particular the *Harkness Memorial Tower, Yale*, with considerable feeling for its decorative value. Huc Mazelot Luquiens, after etching a number of plates of Yale, has gone to Honolulu and busied himself with Hawaiian scenes.

One of the most accomplished of modern American etchers of architecture is Louis C. Rosenberg. There is a scrupulous neatness about his work which never degenerates into niggling, and his figures are alive. He has etched in Spain, Italy, and elsewhere, and has been very successful with interiors of mosques in Constantinople. *The House of Shanar* is a delicate and attractive plate.

For Kerr Eby etching is but one of many ways of recording his reactions to the life around him. He works in line, but seems as much at home with the lithographic stone as with the copper plate. His work is largely illustration, but illustration of a high order; and some of his best etchings are those which deal with the incidents of a soldier's life in France. His plates are full of movement, and he excels in depicting horses struggling up steep slopes with heavy guns. The night march, the early morning advance, find him equally ready. I know of few more successful evocations of a time of day than his *Dawn—The 75's Follow Up*. After the War he went to the East, and since then has pictured the American countryside. His range of subject is remarkable. Everything is freshly seen and vigorously recorded.

Mahonri Young is a sculptor who in some of his etchings reminds one of the

paintings of the elder Breughel. The life of his design is due to the number of little figures incorporated in it, each freshly observed, and noted with the simplest means. Another sculptor, Emil Fuchs, has produced a number of portraits.

Daniel Garber, a native of Indiana, now living in Philadelphia, was known first for his oil landscapes and figure subjects. He still uses his paintings as the basis for his etched work, and this is reflected in his curiously unlinear technique. Sometimes his effects approach those of aquatint, and he is most successful with a quiet, decorative treatment of landscape in sunshine.

The only representative in America of what might be called the school of quiet pastoral seems to be Edgar R. Hambly. His technique has little in common with that of, for example, Paul Drury in England, but his sentiment, the dominant note of his etchings, is very similar. He achieves an extraordinary sense of rural peace and unspoiled simplicity.

Sears Gallagher is a distinguished etcher whose range of subject covers scenes in New York, country landscape, and seascape. He is fond of the velvet shadows of drypoint, and uses them with great effect in such a plate as *Black Rock, Monhegan*, or in the snow-scene, *The Wayside Inn, Sudbury, Mass.* He has also produced some very successful character portraits, and scenes in and about his native Boston. Two other etchers of Boston who must be mentioned are P. B. Parsons and Carl Wingate.

New York has proved an inexhaustible field for such men as W. J. Quinlan, Curt Szekey, and W. A. Sherwood, and has found yet another interpreter in Anton Schutz, while the eighteenth century charm of old Germantown has been portrayed on the copper by Frederick Polley. J. Paul Verrées is a Belgian who has settled in New York. He has etched both in America and in Venice, and some of his best plates reveal his natural understanding of the scenery of the Low Countries.

Another foreign artist who has come to America but who has devoted himself more completely to the American scene is Paul Metour. He was born in Brittany and brought up in North Africa. He studied for a time in London and came to the United States in 1903. He has concerned himself chiefly with Annapolis.

Zella de Milhau was born in New York, but is of French descent. She learned etching from M. Nimmo Moran, but has certainly been influenced by modern French etchers. Her general manner is one of extreme simplicity. The usual process was reversed by Georges Gobo, who was born in 1876 at San Francisco, went to France at an early age, and so is often reckoned among French etchers. His work has a romantic vigour, with strong chiaroscuro. Two other etchers of foreign extraction who have made names for themselves in America are Emil Ganso and Roderick Seidenberg.

Martin Lewis has etched a number of unusual scenes in Japan, marked by a curious absence of the influence of Japanese art. *Shadows on the Road* is an effective plate of the sun coming directly towards the spectator, and in *The Return*, one of the best of his etchings, there is an effective contrast between the foam of the sea and the wet sand.

Etchers of the sea and of shipping are not lacking among modern Americans. Charles H. Woodbury, well-known as a painter, has also great feeling for the value of the bitten line. The sea and the mountains are the subjects he chooses, and most of his plates have been made at Ogunquit, Maine. His method is one of suggestion rather than of detailed statement. He feels that it is an abuse of the medium to force any line process to do more than indicate. To attempt imitation is to sacrifice its peculiar qualities. His vigour as an etcher is seen to advantage in such plates as *An Easterly Coming* and *Breaking Wave*.

George G. Wales devoted himself to the depiction of the heroic age of American sailing vessels, and he approximates his technique to the print designers of the early 19th century, but he is very well able, in spite of the severe limits within which he works, to suggest the roll and lift of the sea. Perhaps his best plate is *The Mary Pollock*, where vertical lines are used both to represent rain and lowering shadows.

Something of McBey's handling of small craft is seen in the work of Philip Little. He has etched little, but knows how to arrange fantastic sails in a pattern against the sky. Similar subjects have absorbed Edward S. Hewitt, while the docks and wharves of Gloucester, and the fishing villages in the neighbourhood, have been the inspiration of Haley Lever. Harbours and shipping have also attracted the attention of Gustav F. Goetsch.

As an etcher of the sea, Philip Kappel is very effective in *Homeward Bound*, with the dark silhouette of a sailing ship reflected broken in the water. He enjoys making the most of the contrast between *Sail and Steam*; and in *Rockport Quarry* he has constructed a design from the curving railway line, the curving shadow of the arch of the bridge, and the sharp angles of the shanties at its foot.

The etchings of Martin Petersen are full of angular figures slightly reminiscent of those of Strang, but without the Scotsman's melancholy. He renders seafaring types with great understanding. The sea itself is the theme of Armin Hansen, who is of Scandinavian origin, and descended from a long line of sailors. He is well known as a marine painter, and brings to his etched work considerable nautical knowledge. *The Sardinia Barge* is one of his most satisfying designs.

That the "sporting print" need not be the tasteless product it so often tends to become, is well shown in the etched work of Frank W. Benson. Benson's etchings are, of course, something more than sporting prints, but the artist himself is a keen sportsman, and has always taken an immense interest in the subject-matter he has chosen. Those who do not share his preoccupation with water-fowl may sometimes sigh on turning over a portfolio of his prints: "What! More ducks!" Yet a closer examination will reveal the fact that although Benson has etched ducks over and over again, he has come to each plate with a new problem in design to be worked out, and has brought to his work a fresh observation of wild life which scorns to be satisfied with a formula. He is a master of pattern, who places his birds against the sky with unerring skill; and in such etchings as *Bound Home* and *The High Carry* has shown that he is not so limited in outlook or accomplishment as a hasty glance at his work might lead one to suppose.

Similar in manner is the work of Richard E. Bishop. He is very skilful in using his wild-fowl not only to make a pattern on the plate, but to show, as it were, a cinematograph picture of birds alighting or taking flight. In his drypoint *Salt Marshes*, for instance, his four birds are all at different stages of ceasing to fly and being about to swim. This device gives great sense of movement, and the animation of some of his work is remarkable.

Another etcher of wild-fowl is Roland Clark, while Carton Moorepark has depicted on the copper the man with the gun, his dogs, and the rough country

they pass over. Hans Kleiber is cruder in technique. He etches wild fowl in the manner of Benson, while his *Trailing Sheep*, and *The Tongue River, Wyoming* seem to reach back to the methods of Haden. Robert Armstead has specialised in dogs.

Few artists have been more successful in rendering the hidden life of wild animals than the etcher, Will Simmons. His technical methods are very various, including aquatint and a kind of mezzotint, but his favourite seems to be drypoint. He manages to convey the delicacy of osprey feathers with great skill, but he seems at his best with animals rather than with birds. The silhouetted bear in *The Unexpected* is excellent, and *Timber Wolf, "Finis"* is both a good design, and a sympathetic study of the beast. In his monkey plates, Simmons allows himself more whimsicality, but he avoids the great vice of the animal artist, sentimentality.

The bird and animal studies of Charles E. Heil have a place by themselves. They are the result of close observation and real imaginative sympathy, but the artist has resisted the temptation to endow his beasts with human thoughts and feelings. The surprised *Calf* is an excellent plate, and so is his *Elephant*, but he is perhaps best of all in his studies of very young birds. The means by which he renders their fluffy feathers are of great interest to all students of technical processes.

Troy Kinney is an etcher who has specialised almost exclusively in the representation of dancers and dancing. His interest in the dance itself, and in the technical side of dancing, has tended, perhaps too much, to make him an illustrator rather than a true etcher. The subject-matter of Degas in his paintings shows a similar preoccupation, but the Frenchman never allowed his undoubted interest in everything connected with the ballet to prevent him from approaching the immediate aesthetic problem with a real singleness of mind.

Troy Kinney's work appeals by the interest of its subject, perhaps also by a certain seductiveness; but there is no doubt that the artist is very successful in expressing those motions of the dancer which he has set out to depict. There seems sometimes no particular reason why he should have selected etching for his purposes, and yet we should be grateful for any attempt to widen the scope of an art which plods too much in the beaten tracks of architecture and landscape. His

drypoint *The Seventh Veil* shows how much he is capable of suggesting by the simplest means; while in such a plate as his *Portrait of Mrs. H. P. W.* he achieves a pattern of real decorative unity. The *Impressions of Great Dancers Series* form a record of considerable value, for the art of dancing is by nature ephemeral, and the eye of the camera seems incapable of seeing anything of its true essence. Here the artist has an opportunity which Troy Kinney has not neglected.

Another etcher of dancers is Robert Lee Eskridge, and the same subject has been treated by Anne Goldthwaite, who is, however, more distinguished for her sensitive drypoint portraits, one of the best of which is that of the Rev. Hugh Benson.

Warren Davis, son of John P. Davis, the noted wood engraver, is chiefly known as a painter. He has taken up etching during the last three years, and has had considerable success in New York. His subject-matter resembles that of Troy Kinney, but it is more elaborate, and shows less care for the suggestion of movement. In *Wind Blown* he gives a charming study of a nude form underneath blown drapery. He is most successful when he confines himself to single figures.

Arthur W. Heintzelman is one of the few American etchers well known to the British public, but he is even better known in France, and he has spent several years in the French capital. His work is sufficiently outside the general run of etching to excite remark. He is one of the few modern etchers who have attempted a crucifixion, and succeeded in conveying an impression of sincerity. The plate indeed is more crucifix than crucifixion, for only the figure of Christ is shown; but the omission of secondary figures seems only to increase its effect. There is an unashamed sentiment about Heintzelman's work which distinguishes it from the shamefaced reserve of some of his contemporaries. He delights in such subjects as *Mother and Child*, and some of his best etchings depict with great tenderness the lines and furrows of old age. His most impressive plate is perhaps his monumental *La Grand' Mère Forain*.

William Auerbach-Levy etches by preference single figures. His subjects, mostly drawn from Jewish life, are treated with great simplicity and dignity. His power of seizing upon national types and depicting them with a sympathetic exactness is shown in his excellent study of a poor Irishman, *Padraic*. All the

work of Auerbach-Levy has the high seriousness of a Legros without the latter's leaning towards the grotesque. He has revived the soft-ground process, and used it for portrait heads with great success.

Otto J. Schneider has long held a distinguished place for his drypoint portraits; and his ability in portraying an elegant femininity has earned for him the title of the American Helleu. He is equally successful with men, and his *Portrait of Carl Sandberg*, the poet, is a most sensitive study. He has done a certain amount of architectural work in Paris, Chicago and elsewhere.

In vivid contrast is Walter Tittle's vigorous plate of Joseph Conrad. Any more deliberate method might have failed to capture the weariness and the aggressiveness of the novelist's face. Tittle became famous in Europe for his portraits of the statesmen attending the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments. He does not, however, confine himself to portraiture, but can suggest the grace of a nude form with a few apparently hasty lines.

Not to be confused with him is Henry E. Tuttle. He excels in rendering the fluffy softness of owls and their young. Arthur G. Learned, besides his portraits of women, has etched a number of fanciful plates of sibyls and satyrs. The etchings of Mathilde de Cordoba are concerned almost entirely with childhood and early adolescence. Her little girls are dressed in old-fashioned garments, and the somewhat artificial look of her plates is heightened by printing them in colour.

Another etcher of children is Margery Ryerson. She chooses her models among the children of the poorer quarters of New York, and shows skill in distinguishing the various racial types. She has also produced a portrait of Rabin-dranath Tagore. Nell Coover, in her studies of childhood, works with a system of swirling lines, apparently haphazard, but none the less effective.

Etching with a free open line, Dwight C. Sturges excels in showing the effects of light falling on a human countenance. His manner suggests that of Zorn, without the Swedish master's vigorous diagonal shading. The method and subject-matter of Lee Sturges are very different. He has been most successful in his interpretations of the Rocky Mountains.

In so vast a country as America, many modern etchers are bound to be considered in geographical groups. One of the most striking of such groups is form-

ed by the dozen or so etchers who have made California their subject-matter. The Print Makers Society of California is a most flourishing body, which started in 1914 with Howell C. Brown, himself an etcher, as its secretary. In the north, the California Society of Etchers, organised in 1912, performs a similar function of encouragement.

Perhaps the best known etcher of California is Roi Partridge. He is particularly interested in the country's splendid trees, and it is typical of him that in his etching *Mills Hall* (the college where he is an instructor) the building is almost entirely concealed by the mighty spreading branches which form the motive of his design. He has great feeling for the structure of mountains also, and some of his most effective plates are of lofty peaks seen through the boughs of trees. That he is capable of phantasy is shown by such a plate as *White Butterfly*.

Another etcher of trees (among other things) is Ralph M. Pearson, but he uses them for very different purposes. He is one of the few who have attempted to express the discoveries of modern painting in terms of the copper plate. The interest in formal relations which is one of the preoccupations of the painter has hardly been felt in etching; but is the most striking thing about such a plate as *The Cypress Grove*. Pearson is obviously uninterested in the picturesqueness of trees, it is as related forms that he sets them down, and builds them up into his design. By his writings as well as by his work, Pearson has probably done more than anyone to encourage an escape, in etching, from the deadness of traditional presentation.

W. G. Reindel, in his studies of trees, makes much of his feeling for arabesque. He has also produced some rapid notations of street scenes, which well express the barrenness and the hurry of modern life.

More lyrical (more elegiac even) is the work of Arthur H. Millier, whose stately treatment of landscape is reminiscent, in its calm elegance, of the backgrounds of Shepperson. But this is only one side of his work. He began by etching the poorer quarters of San Francisco, and his interest in the "types" to be met with in the streets and on the wharves has never flagged.

A similar subject matter has been ably exploited by John Winkler. In his *North End of Telegraph Hill* he has made a positive pattern out of untidiness, and

depicted the four grubby children, in the foreground of the squalid houses, with sympathetic understanding. He specialised for a time in scenes from the Chinese Quarter of San Francisco. Somewhat the same in subject as that of Winkler is the work of George Resler, whose *Pawn Shop* is a telling study of sordid poverty; while similar themes in New York have occupied the needle of Therese Bernstein and Jerome Myers.

Loren Barton, a woman etcher who was educated entirely in California, is principally a figure painter, and is most successful with her bitten work when she essays picturesque types of humanity. She has also produced drypoint portraits, notably of George Arliss as Disraeli.

The delineation of cowboy life before the last traces of it disappear for ever, has been the task of Edward Borein, himself a cowboy, who has now settled down in Santa Barbara and devoted himself to etching. Apart from their value as a record his prints have life and movement aided by a real sympathy. A similar subject-matter has engaged the needle of Rose Santee.

Ernest Haskell went to California in 1914, but he has since soaked himself in its spirit, and made himself the interpreter of the country of the old cattle ranches.

Robert B. Harshe, in such a plate as *Dutch Cottages*, shows a preference for tone rather than for line, but he manages his tone skilfully to suggest the texture of a whitewashed wall or the depth of the threatening sky. The subject of much of his work is found in California.

Although he studied in Europe for five years and etched in Germany, Italy, England and Wales, the most characteristic plates of George Elbert Burr are his etchings of the Californian desert, and of the arid lands of Arizona and New Mexico. In these regions he has spent more than ten years studying the country. He prefers to work in drypoint, and the size of his plates is usually small, but with great delicacy Burr manages to suggest the wide, scrub-spotted wastes, with distant mountains seen through a haze of sand, as well as the harsh outlines of rocks in bright sunshine, and the tall stems and feathery tops of the rare palms.

He is a master of technical means, and has explored the possibilities of soft-ground, drypoint, aquatint and mezzotint as well as of ordinary etching. His *Mirage* has been admired for its extraordinary skill in suggesting the difference be-

tween the hot reality of the foreground, and the delusive coolness of the dream-like distance.

A landscape painter who has temporarily, at least, abandoned the brush for the needle and the burin, is Peter Marcus whose first serious etching, *A Canon in Gotham*, expresses with melodramatic force the terrifying height and darkness of a New York street. He prefers drypoint to the bitten line partly because of the more direct control given by the drypoint process, and partly for the sake of its rich blacks. His winter landscapes and his renderings of forest trees have great virility. Another etcher who has considerable understanding of tree-forms is Charles W. Dahlgreen.

Ralph M. Pearson whose work as critic and etcher has already been mentioned, places Eugene Higgins at the very summit of American achievement in etching. Some of his work is unconventional to a degree. His forms are simplified, his gestures angular, and he wilfully refrained from most of the elegancies of the art. Yet his study of poor men crouching in an archway is a noble design with a most satisfying rhythm, the lines of the tunnel repeating the weary curves of the human bodies. He is undoubtedly one of the most interesting etchers now working in America.

John Marin is one of the most striking of the "moderns." His manner is a complete repudiation of what we have come to know as the etching tradition. His early work was almost dull in its painstaking exactitude, but having come under the influence of the modern Parisian schools of painting, he evolved a style of his own which places movement and "vibration" above all things. The range of variation in etching is usually so trifling that such work as Marin's must come with something of a shock, yet it is difficult to deny the vividness of his presentation; and his power of rendering the structures of things with the most summary means is sufficient to disprove the theory that his distortions are not deliberate.

The influence of Cubism can be traced in the etchings of Arthur B. Davies. His preoccupation with line and pattern has not succeeded in divorcing him altogether from representation, so that he occasionally succeeds in making the best of both worlds. The same might be said of the etchings of Walter Pach.

H. Nelson Poole depicts, in his drypoints, women as monumental as those of Derain. *Fruit and Grain*, as a formal composition, is curiously successful. Another modernist is Harry Wickey, who tends to treat etching as a tone process, and builds up of his compositions on vivid contrast of light and dark. *The Park* is a good example of his method. The plates (especially the aquatints) of "Pop" Hart have a primitive intensity reminiscent of Gauguin. He takes naturally to the tone processes and is fond of reinforcing his line with roulette work. His *Native Baptism*, *Trinidad* is a good example both of his technical method and his power of suggesting a submerged emotionalism.

The interesting work of Thomas Handforth is inspired by Oriental art, but his sense of pattern has not extinguished his sense of humour. A *Tunisian Carriage* is a most attractive plate.

Edward Hopper, who is also known for his work in oil and water-colour is an etcher who is almost puritanical in his refusal of the various tricks of the etching craft. He has produced several plates of "East Side" interiors, rather as Sickert depicted similar scenes in Camden Town, but without Sickert's latent irony, and with a different technical method of approach. Hopper's over-ruling interest in chiaroscuro suggests that he might be even more successful with wood-engraving. In *Night Shadows* and *American Landscape* the force of each design depends almost entirely upon the velvet darks; and the balance of light and shade is the making of his fine plate *The Evening Wind*.

The etchings of John Sloan bear a close relation to his work with the brush. He studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Design with such men as Shinn, Luks and Glackens, and it was the last named who launched him on his etching career by procuring for him a commission to illustrate the novels of Paul de Kock. His later etchings show little difference of manner. They are *genre* plates chiefly concerned with life in the poorer quarters of New York, and such an etching as his *High Windows* has had some influence on the younger school, among whom what was once felt as Sloan's brutal naturalism is now a commonplace. *Turning out the Light* is one of his most effective plates.

Life in the slums has also attracted the attention of W. J. Glackens himself, and another interpreter of the poorer inhabitants of New York is Paul Renou-

ard. Similar subjects have been handled with understanding by A. A. Blondheim.

The grotesque drypoints of Peggy Bacon are of interest, not only for their own merits, but because they represent the tendency of the younger generation of etchers to escape from the tyranny of pure landscape, and to take up once more the great traditions of satirical etching. There is in her work a strong sense of design allied with an almost extravagant humour. Her figures, in spite of their distortions, are full of character, and she has a real flair for social types, chiefly the types of lower Suburbia. Some of her more fantastic work shows signs of the influence of modern German schools, in particular (although this may be accidental) of George Grosz.

Elizabeth Engelhard has a real appreciation of the human comedy, wedded to considerable feeling for construction. Her *New Baby* is a little masterpiece of sympathetic satire. The satire of Horace Devitt Welsh is a little crude and obvious, but some of his plates (for example *Famine*) have a monumental dignity and impressiveness.

But indeed the field is endless, and even if this account were complete at the moment of writing it would be out of date before the book issued from the press. America has taken to etching with enthusiasm, and if there is no indubitable single achievement to stand with the greatest work of the past masters, there is a remarkably high level of accomplishment, and a public interest which offers the greatest possible encouragement to the etchers of the future.

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I
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William Hogarth

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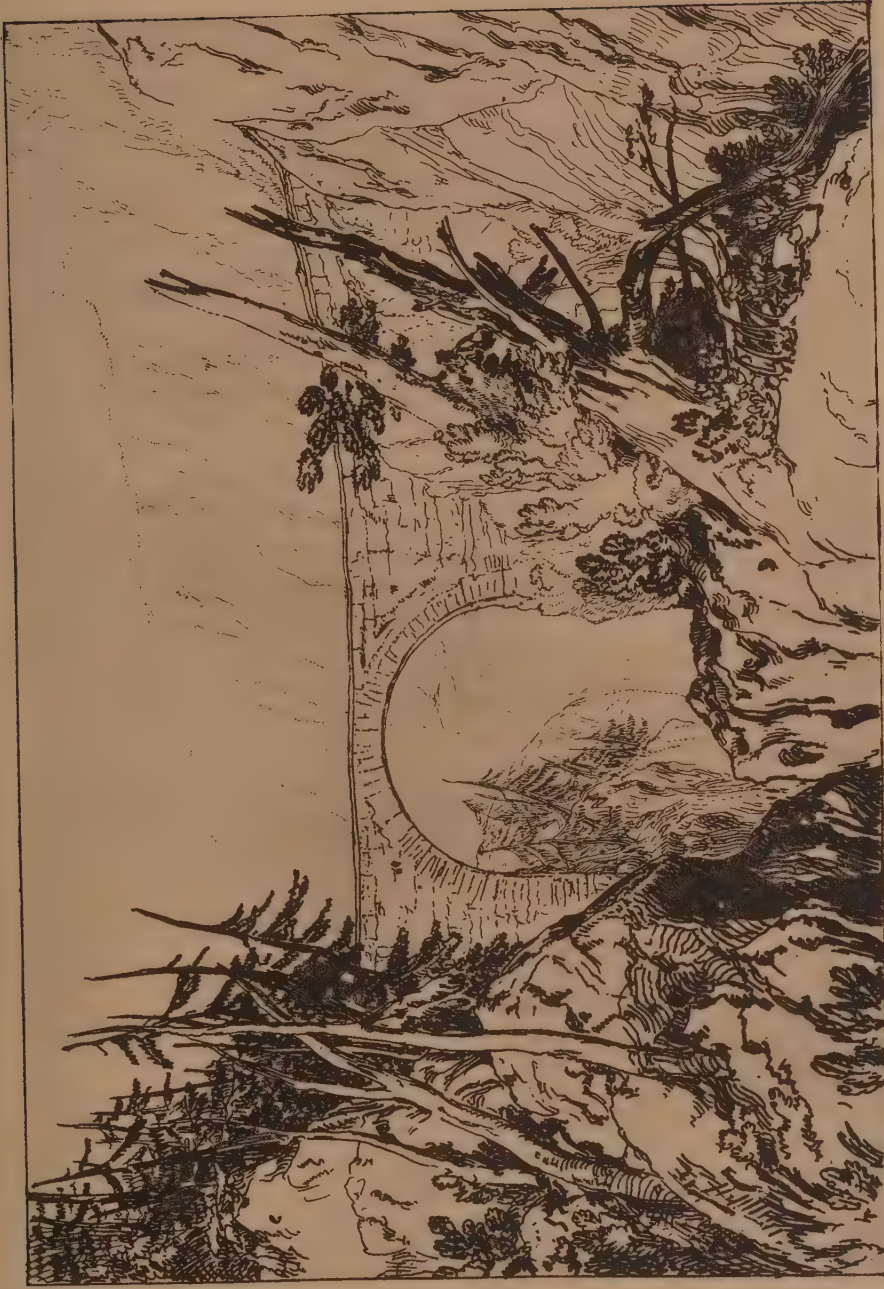
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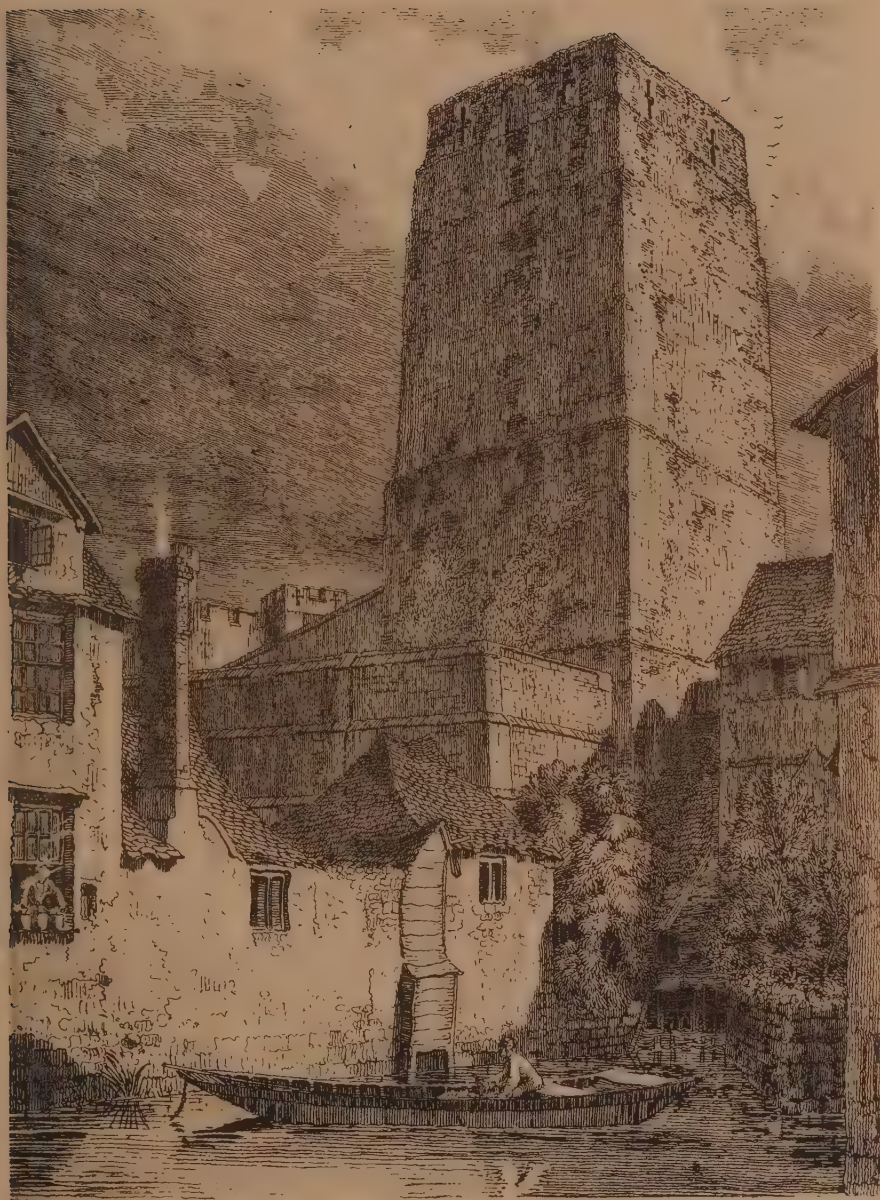
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COTTAGE AT THE FOOT OF ROUTER MOUNTAIN, CORNWALL.
Thomas Rowlandson



VI
THE LITTLE DEVIL'S BRIDGE
J. M. W. Turner



VII
THE PANTHEON FROM THE ARSENAL, PARIS
Thomas Girtin



VIII
OXFORD CASTLE

William Turner ("Turner of Oxford")



IX

BOLOGNA, 2nd STATE

Richard Parkes Bonington

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X
NEAR HINGHAM
John Crome

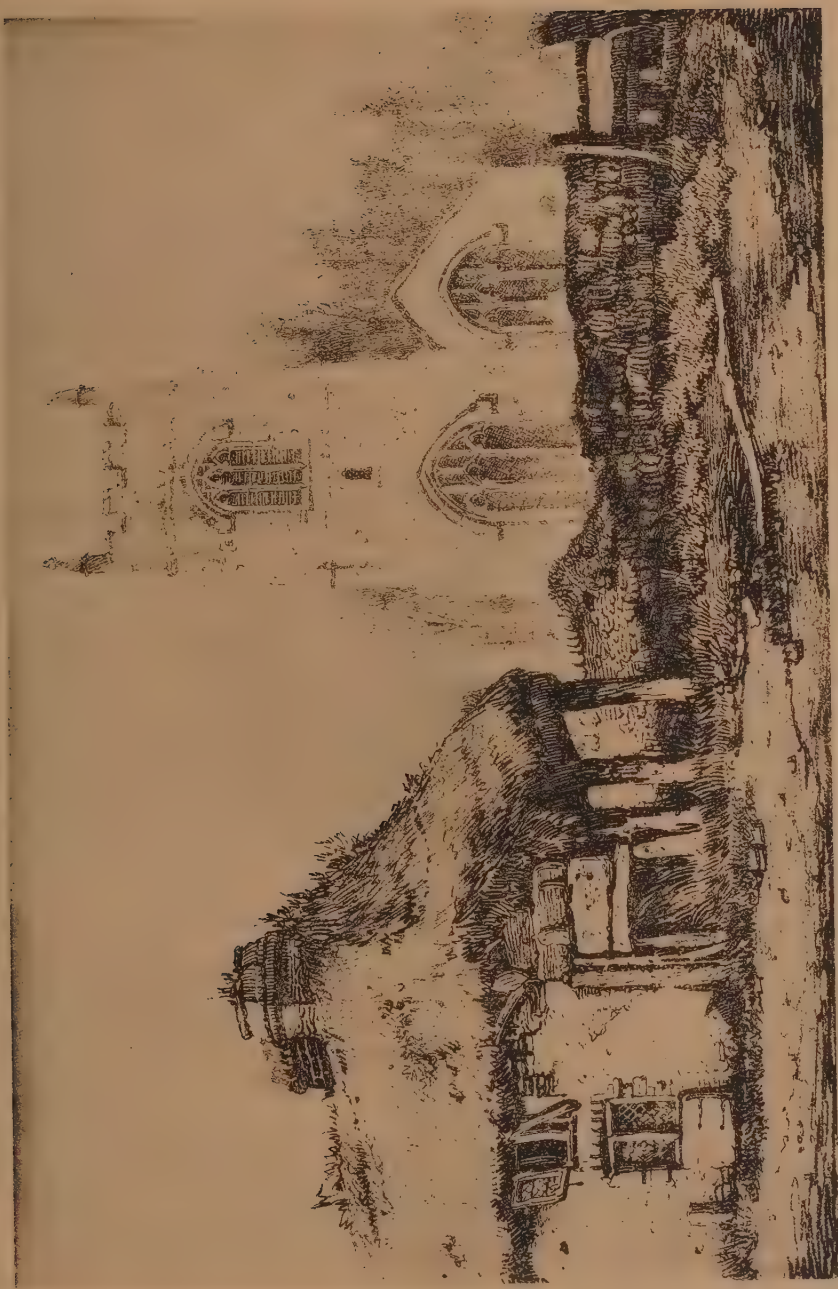


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TREES IN DUNCOMBE PARK, YORKSHIRE
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XII
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Joseph Stannard

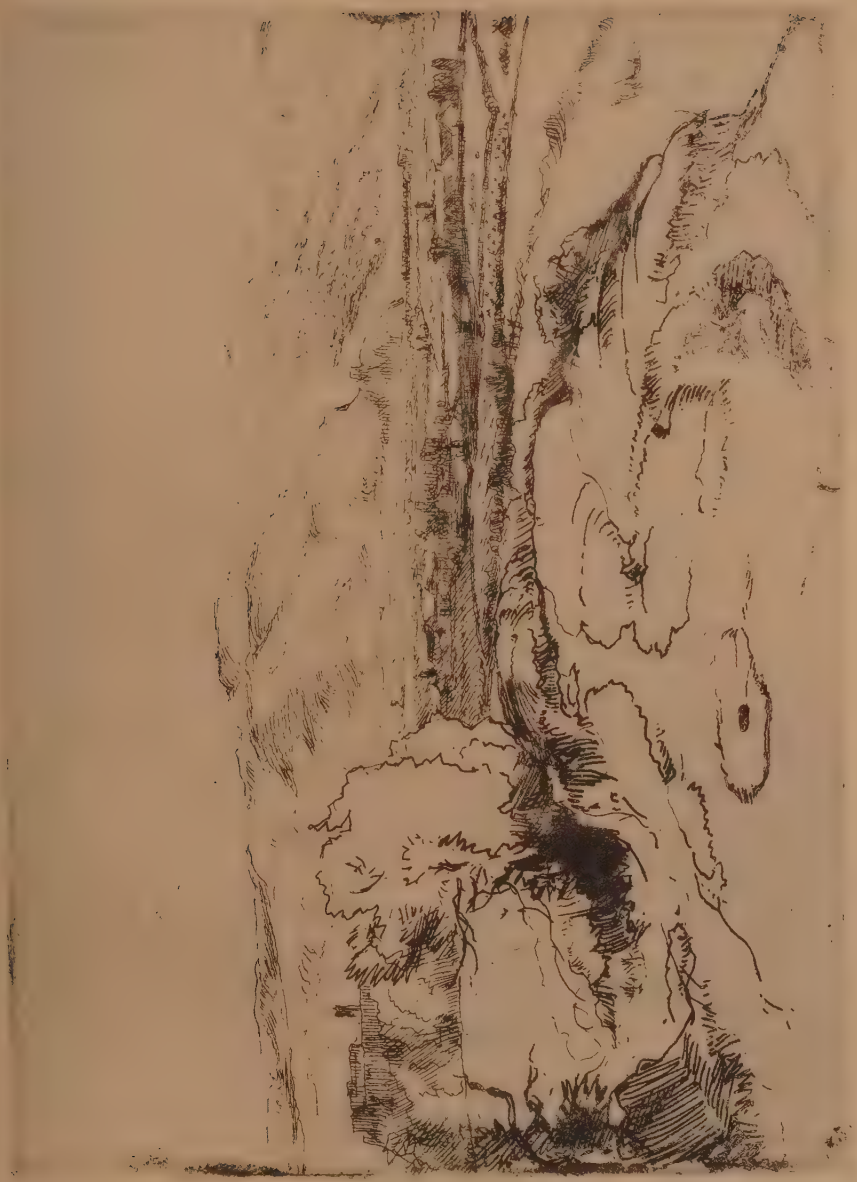
J. Stannard 1825



XIII
BOTISFLEMING
Samuel Prout



XIV
MILFORD BRIDGE
John Constable



XV
THE FIELD OF BANNOCKBURN, 1ST STATE
Andrew Geddes



XVI
LANDSCAPE
Rev. E. T. Daniell



XVII
GIRL LOOKING THROUGH WINDOW
William Dyce



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STUDY OF RACEHORSES
Henry Alken



XIX
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XX
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Sir John E. Millais

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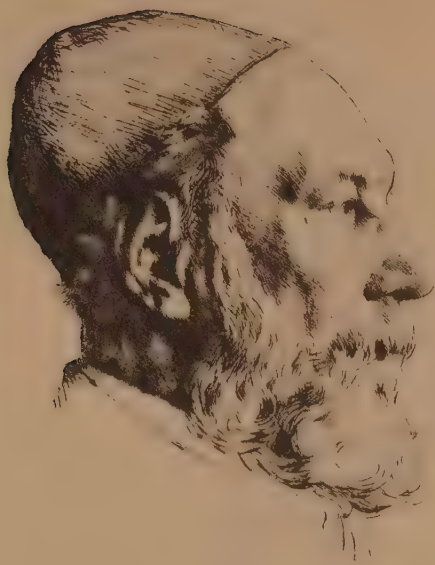
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AXIV
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XXV
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XXVI
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XXVII
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Sir Charles Holroyd



XXVIII
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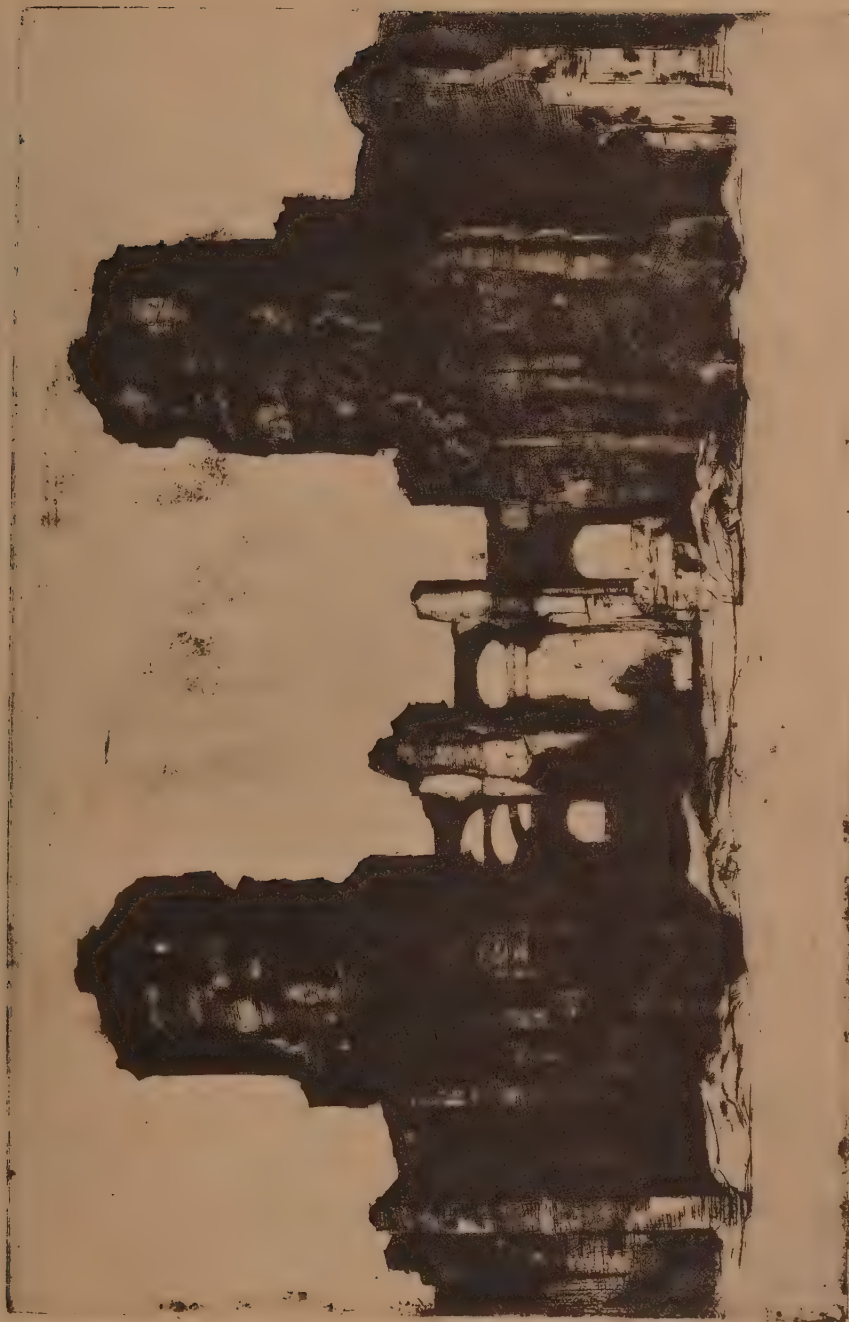


66 THAT OLD-FASHIONED MOTHER OF MINE 69

XXIX

" THAT OLD-FASHIONED MOTHER OF MINE "

Walter Richard Sickert



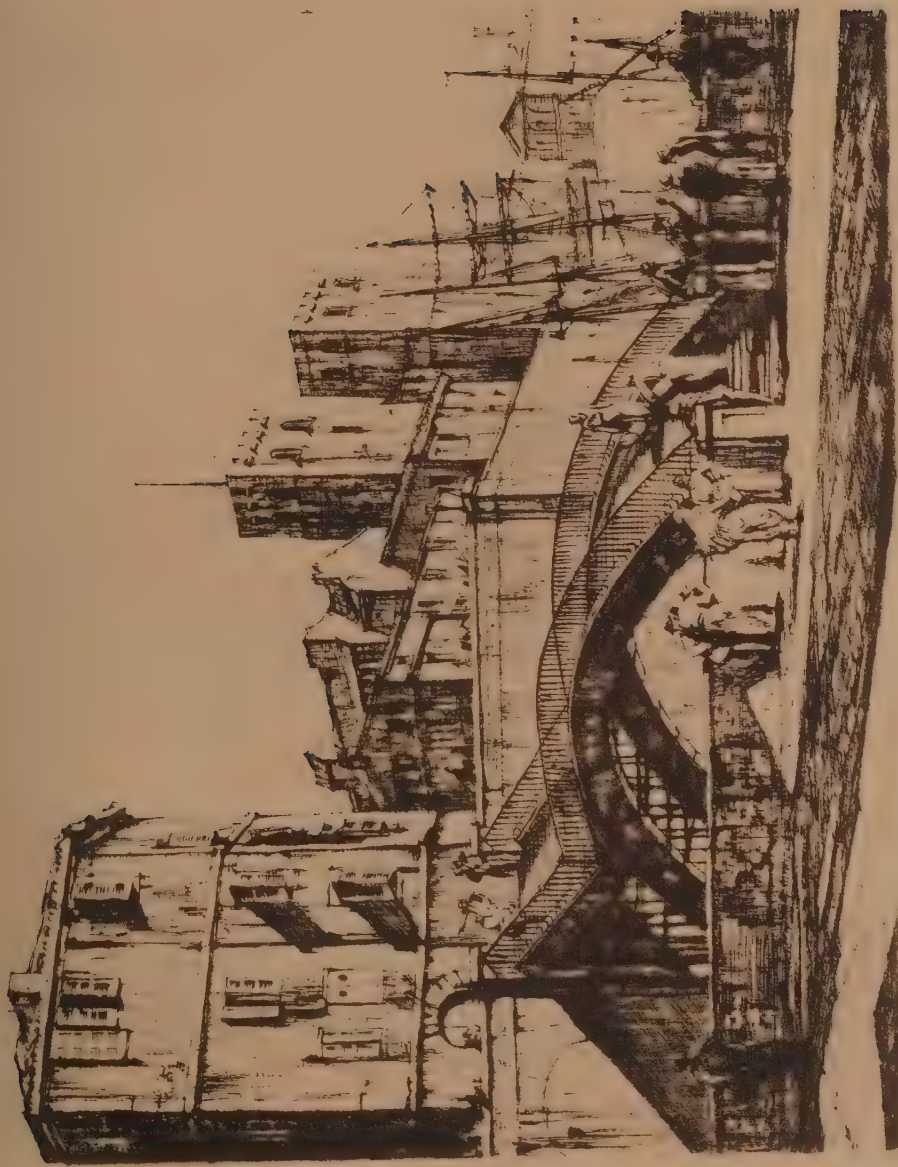
XXX
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Sir D. Y. Cameron



XXXI
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Frank Brangwyn



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STRANDVAGEN, STOCKHOLM
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Tantum desidero carissimi capitis.
 Iste magister debet esse, nec non ostendimus
 in planis monumentis valde adhibere iungere.
 (XV) CLEMENTIS IN PAVIA TONK
 Monasterii de Cugency olim campanorum.

Quorum uocibus, pueri canebant.
(1) am primum didicisti, auctat)
Largo latere aether sauis est
O quam isauibus. O quam uocibus

lam Ruar; etiam, servante iudicio
Suetonii, tuncque multis, ut quævis
fama, advenit, tantorum, et gloria
Advenit, et in semper, in ipsam, peritiam.
Responset, et resonaret, Advenit.

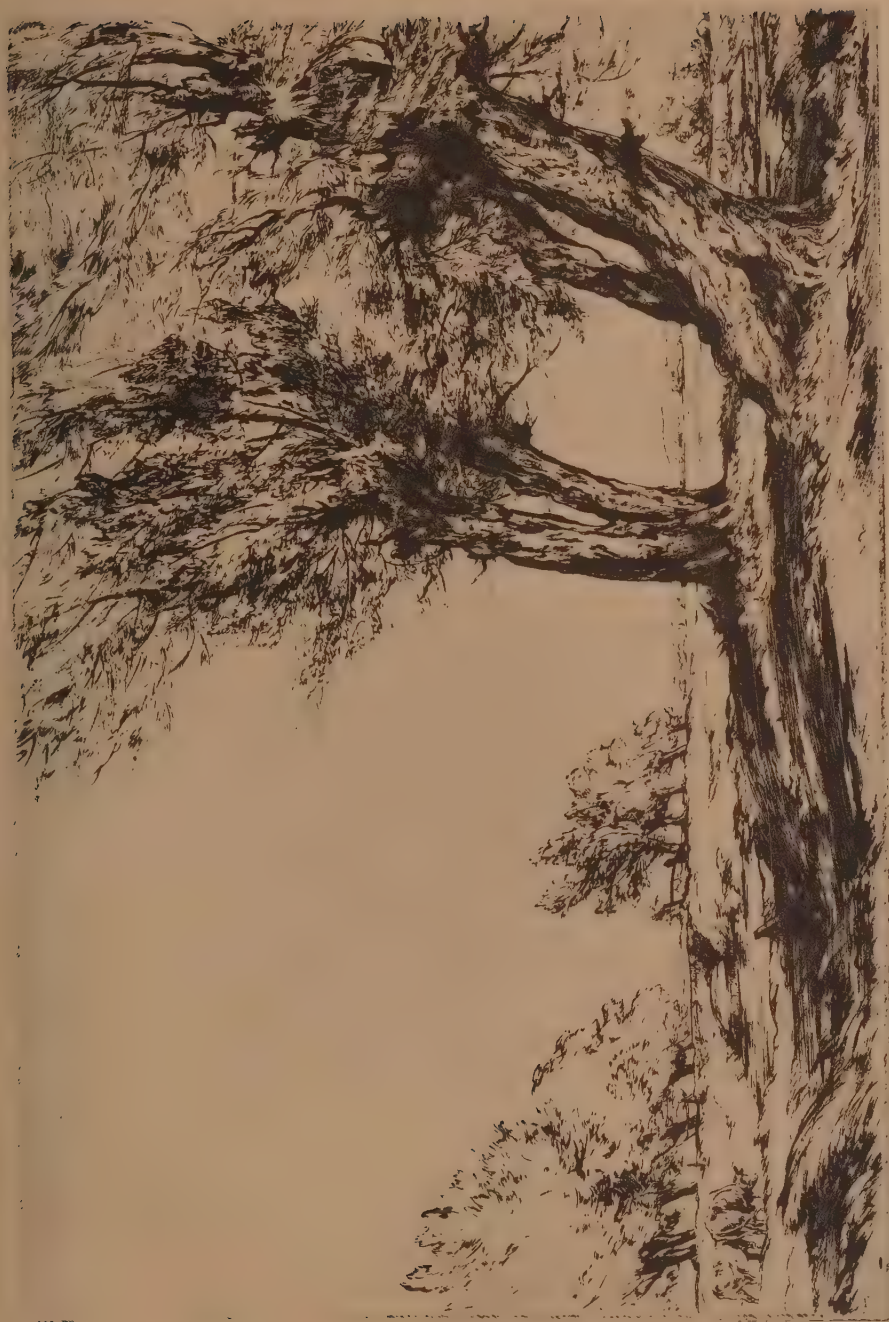
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XL
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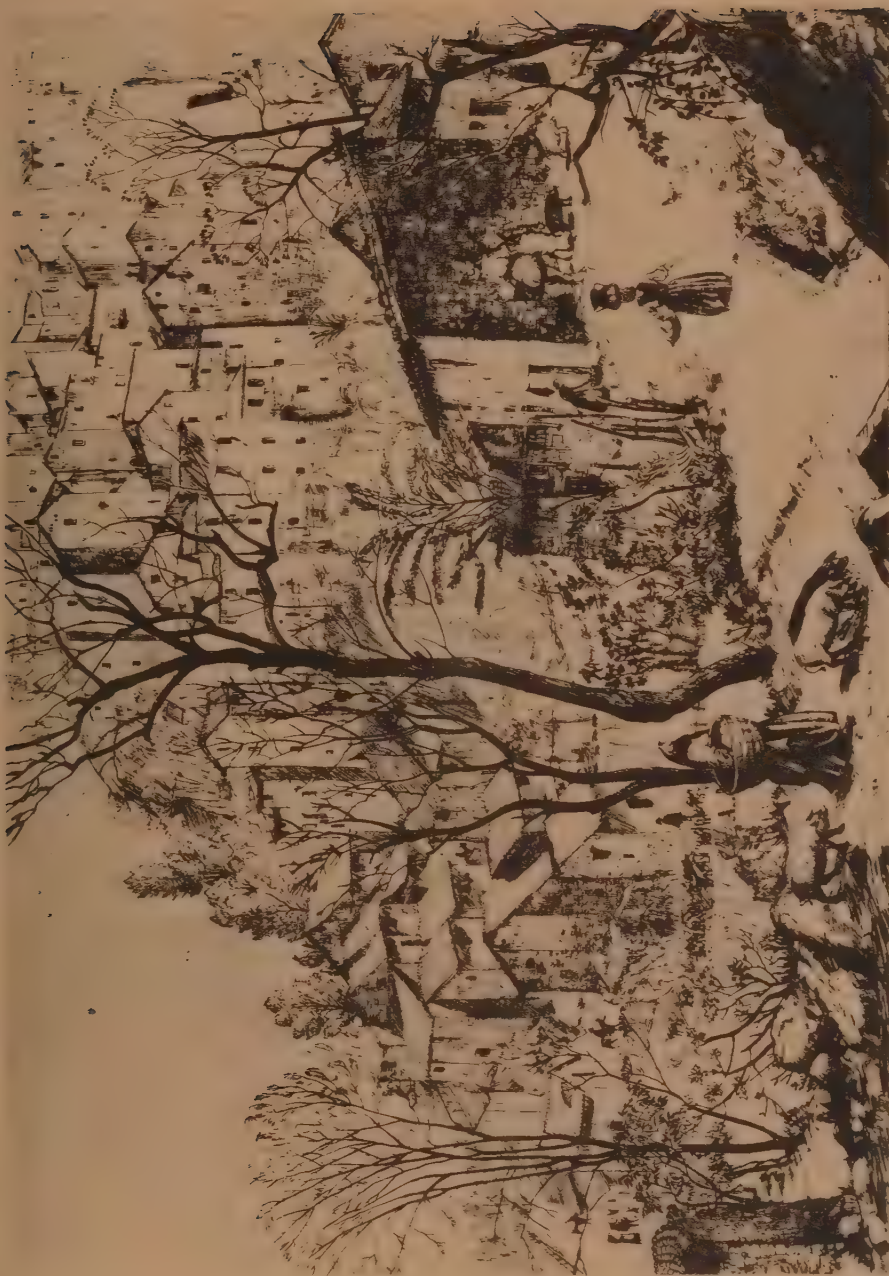
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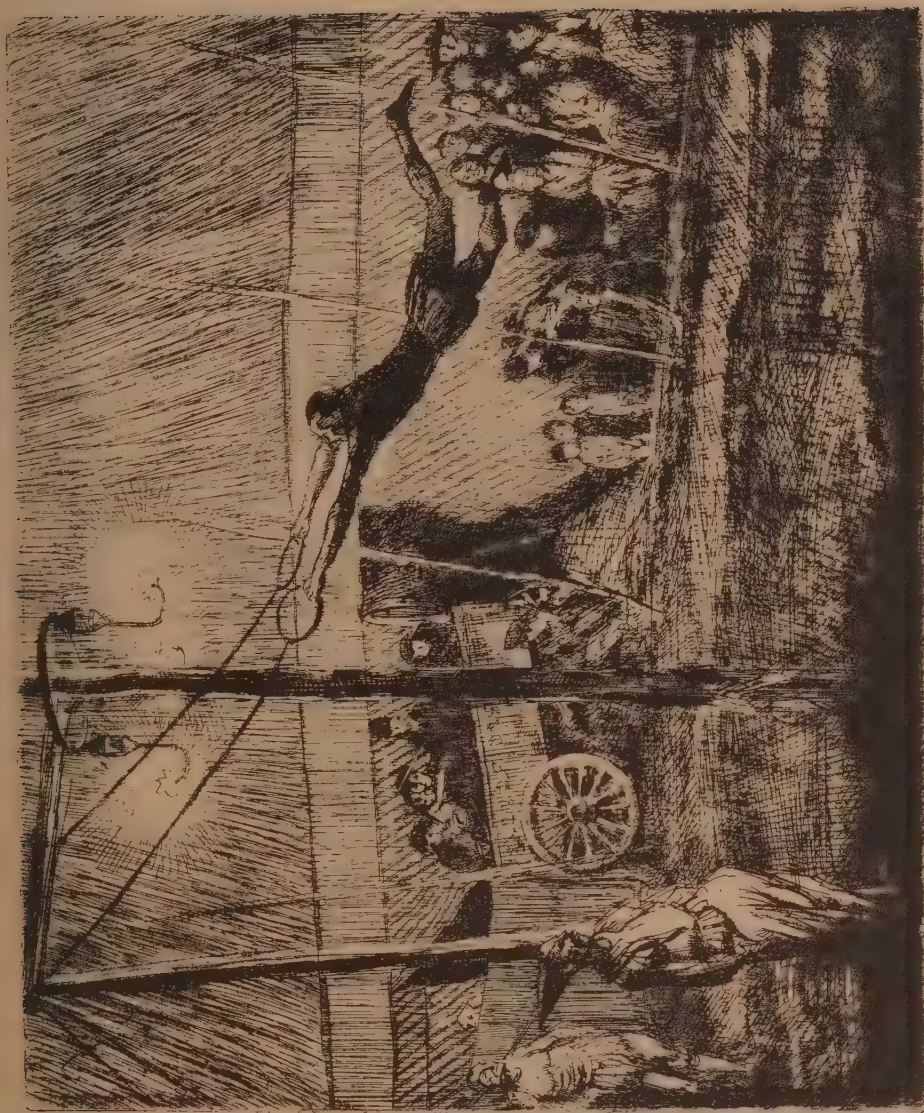
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THE TUMBLE
Edmund Blampied



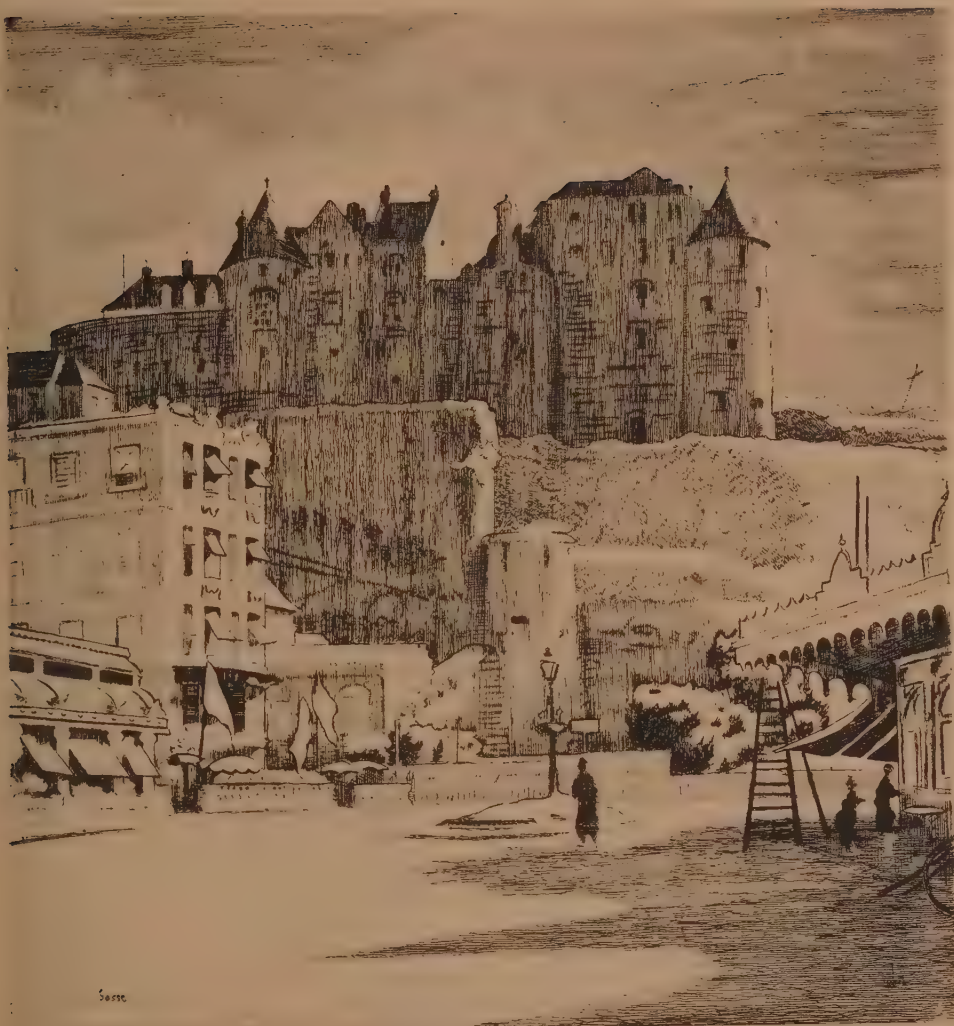
XLIX
CLEWLINES AND BUNTLINES
Arthur Briscoe



L
ON BROOKLYN BRIDGE
C. R. W. Nevins



LI
HEAD OF A GIRL
Laura Knight



LE CHATEAU DIEPPE

LII
THE CHATEAU, DIEPPE
Sylvia Gosse



LIII
DRESSING THE HAIR
Edna Clarke Hall



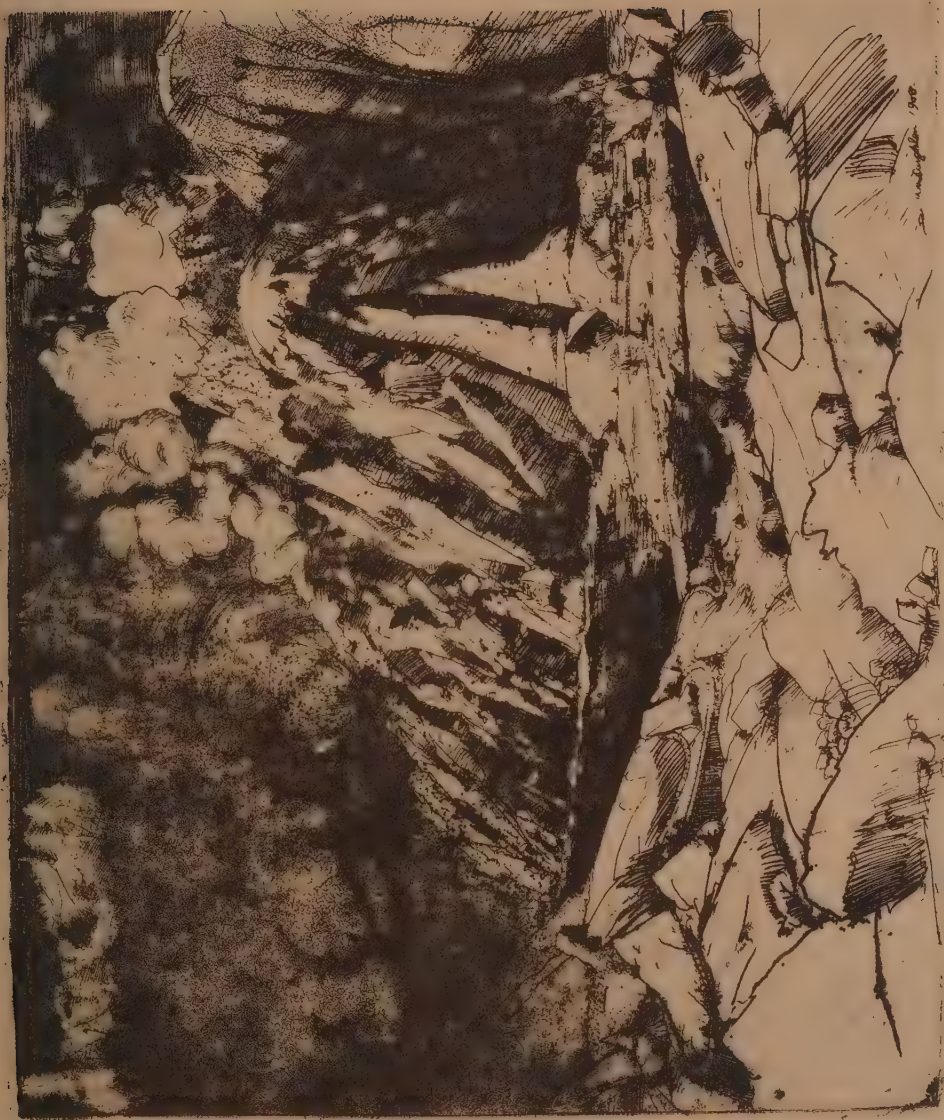
LIV
OLD LADY IN A BONNET
Wendela Boreel



LV
CURVES
Orovida



LVI
PONTE AVENTINO, ROME
Kenneth Holmes



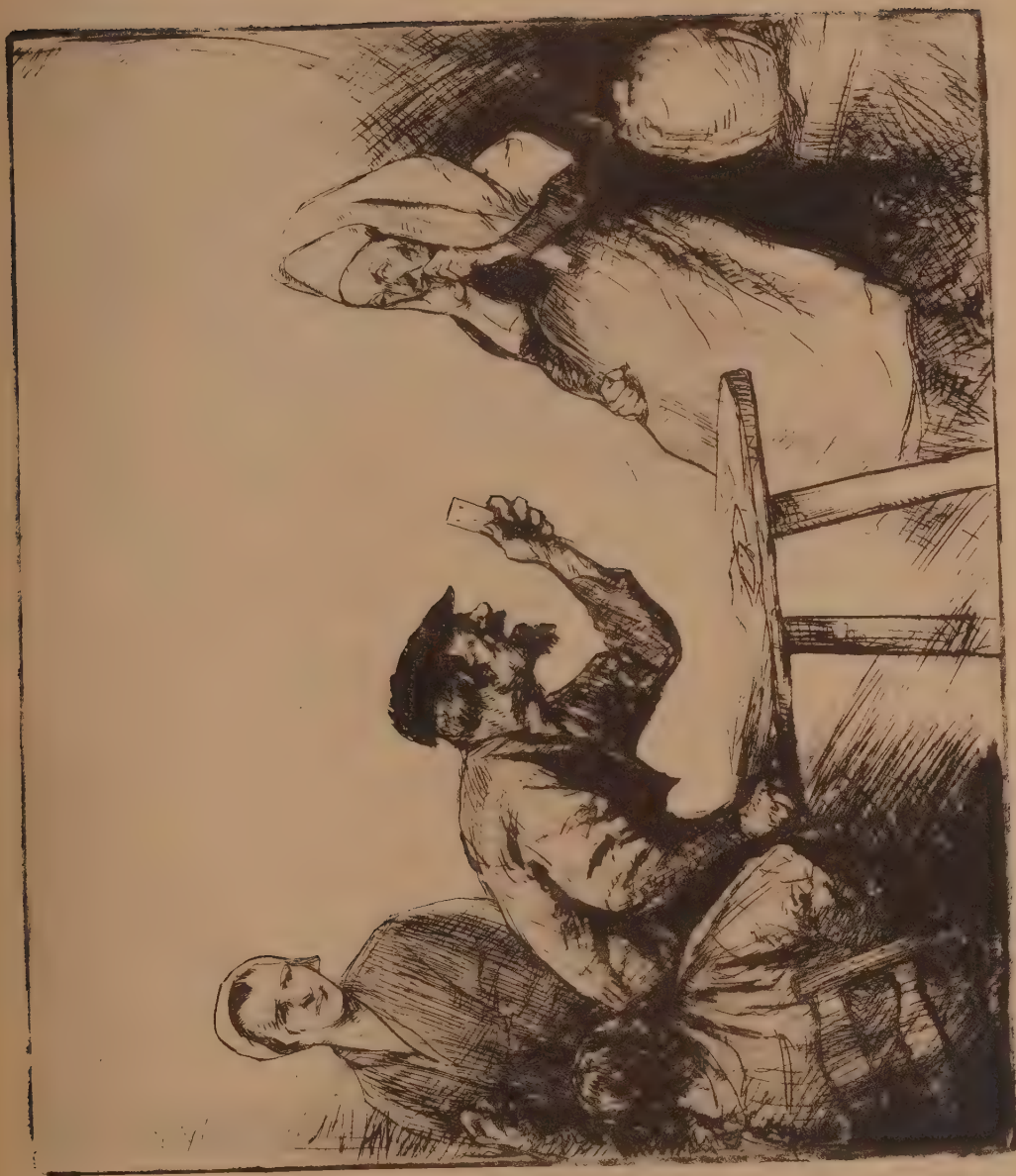
LVII
THE GRIMSEL
Donald Shaw MacLaughlin

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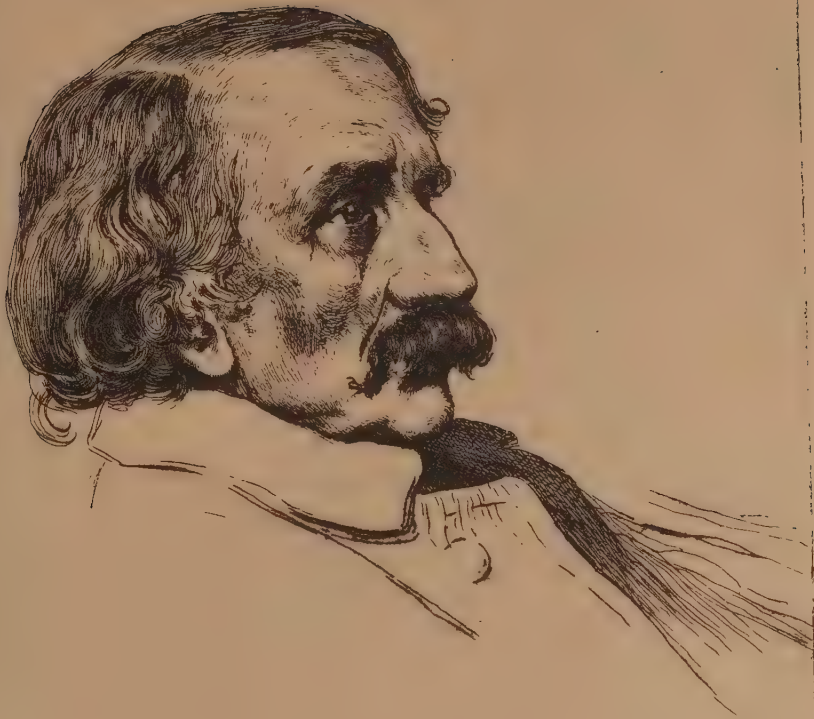


LVIII
THE LITTLE SQUARE, SEGOVIA

Lionel Lindsay



LIX
THE FORTUNE TELLER
J. H. Amshevit



Fisher, f.

LX
PORTRAIT OF A PHILOSOPHER
A. Hugh Fisher

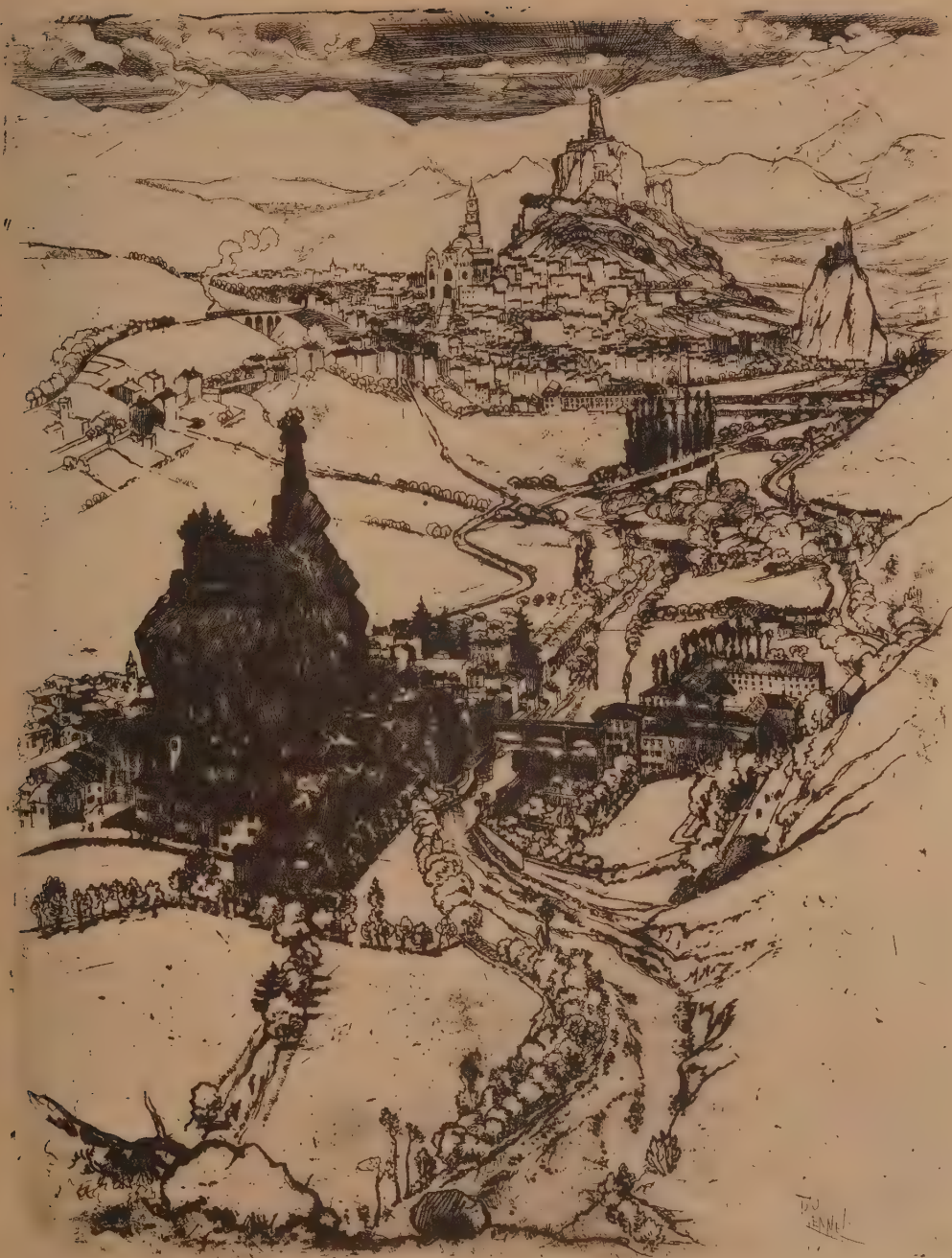


LXI
VENETIAN BEAD STRINGERS

Robert F. Blum



LXII
VENICE
Otto H. Bacher



LXIII
LE PUY
Joseph Pennell



LXIV
GARDEN OF THE LUXEMBOURG
Childe Hassam



LXV
PERUGIA

Samuel Chamberlain

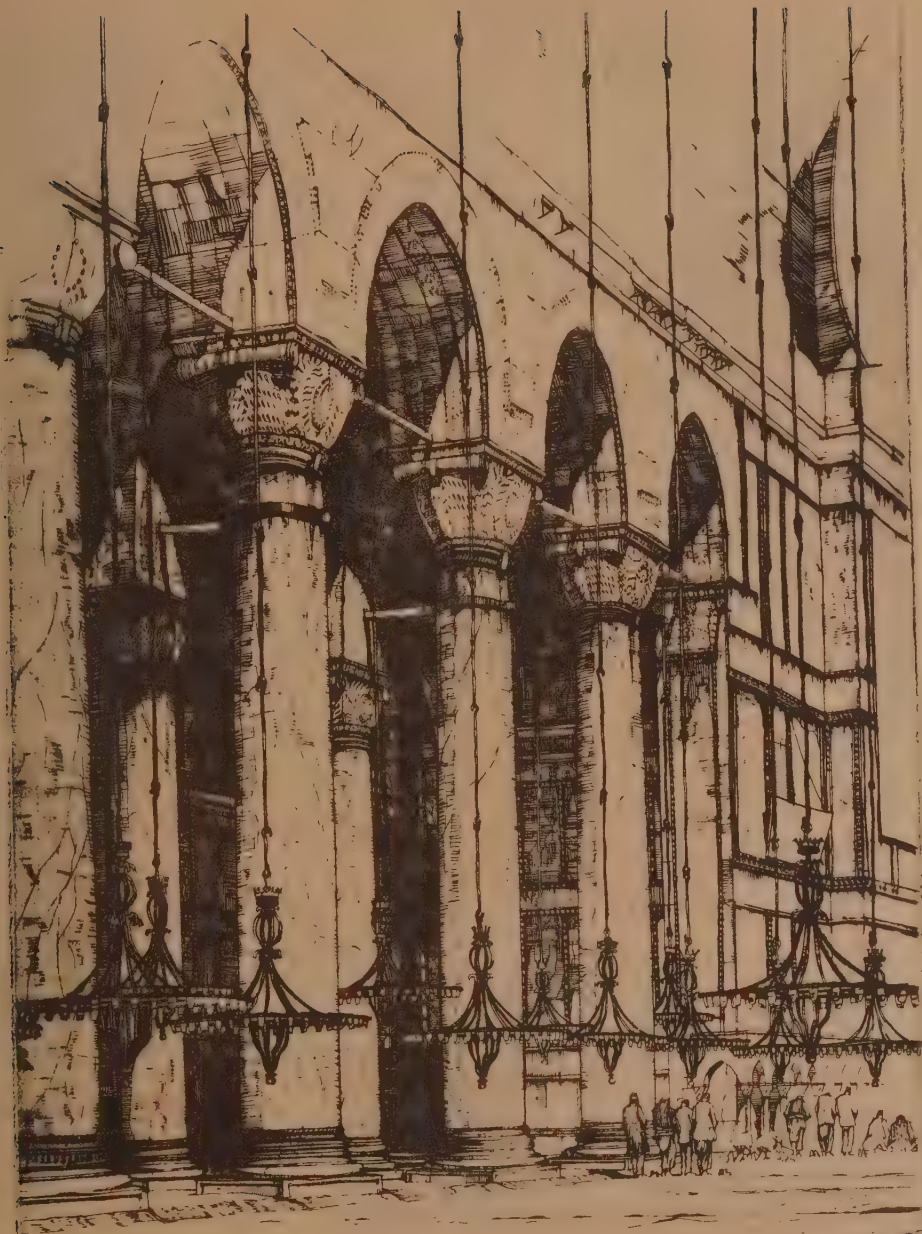


LXVI
RODEZ

John Taylor Arms



LXVII
MOONLIGHT
Troy Kinney



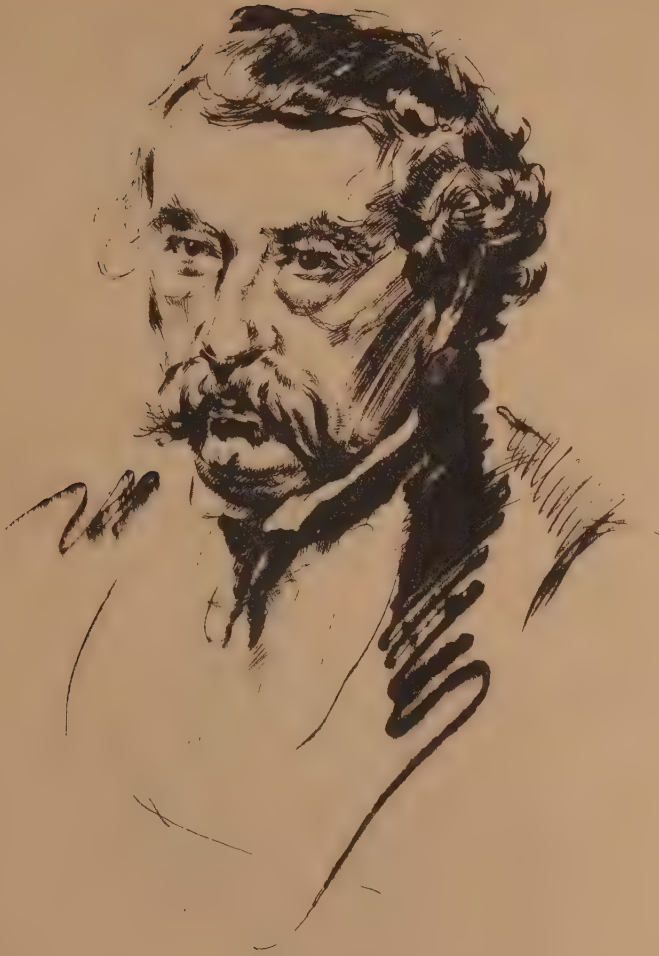
LXVIII
AYA SOPHIA, No. 2
Louis C. Rosenberg



LXIX
RIPPLING WATER
Frank W. Benson



LXX
IN A PALM CANYON, CALIFORNIA
George Elbert Burr

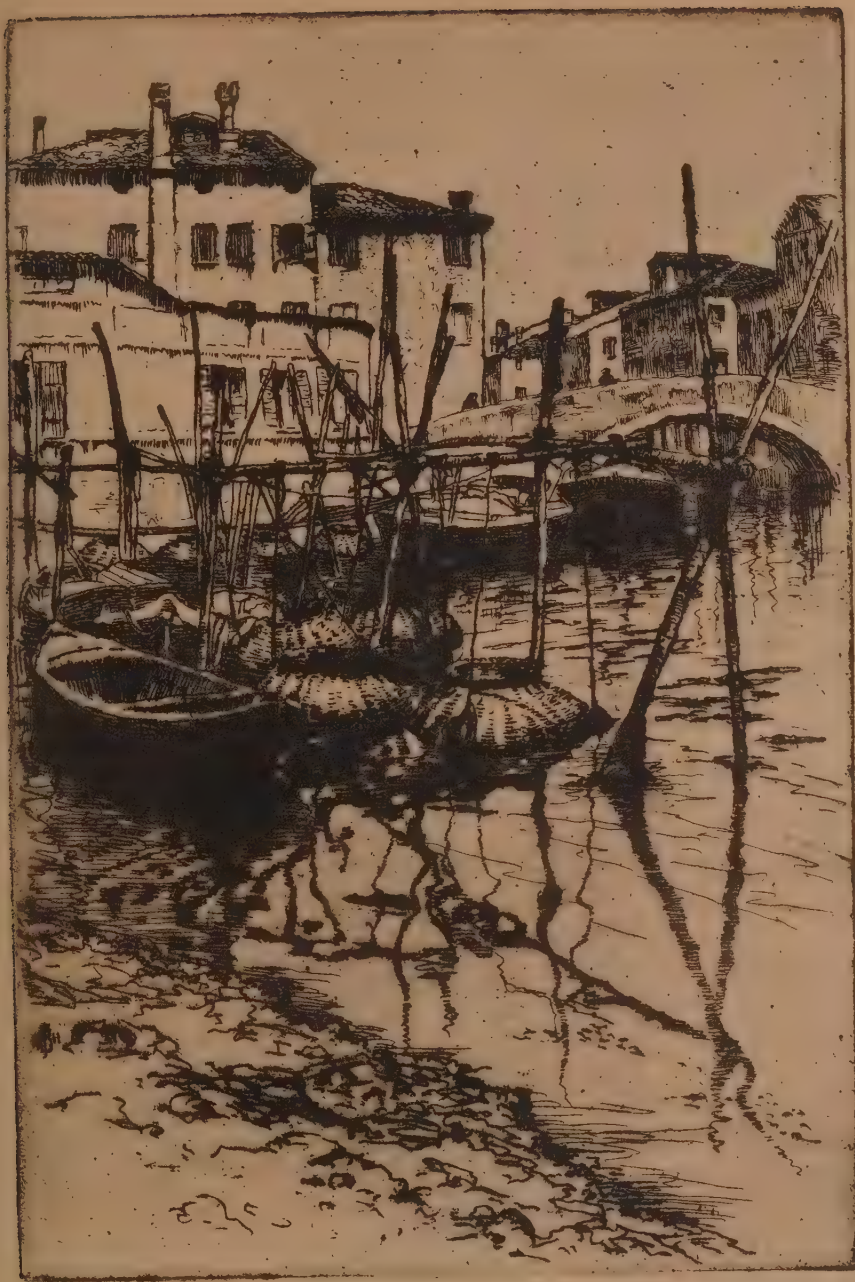


Walter Tittle
1881

LXXI
PORTRAIT OF ARISTIDE BRIAND
Walter Tittle



LXXII
AN ARTILLERY TRAIN
Kerr Eby



LXXIII
THE TANGLE, CHIOGGIA
Bertha E. Jaques



LXXIV
NIGHT IN THE PARK
Edward Hopper



LXXV
LA ROBE ROSE
Mathilde de Cordoba

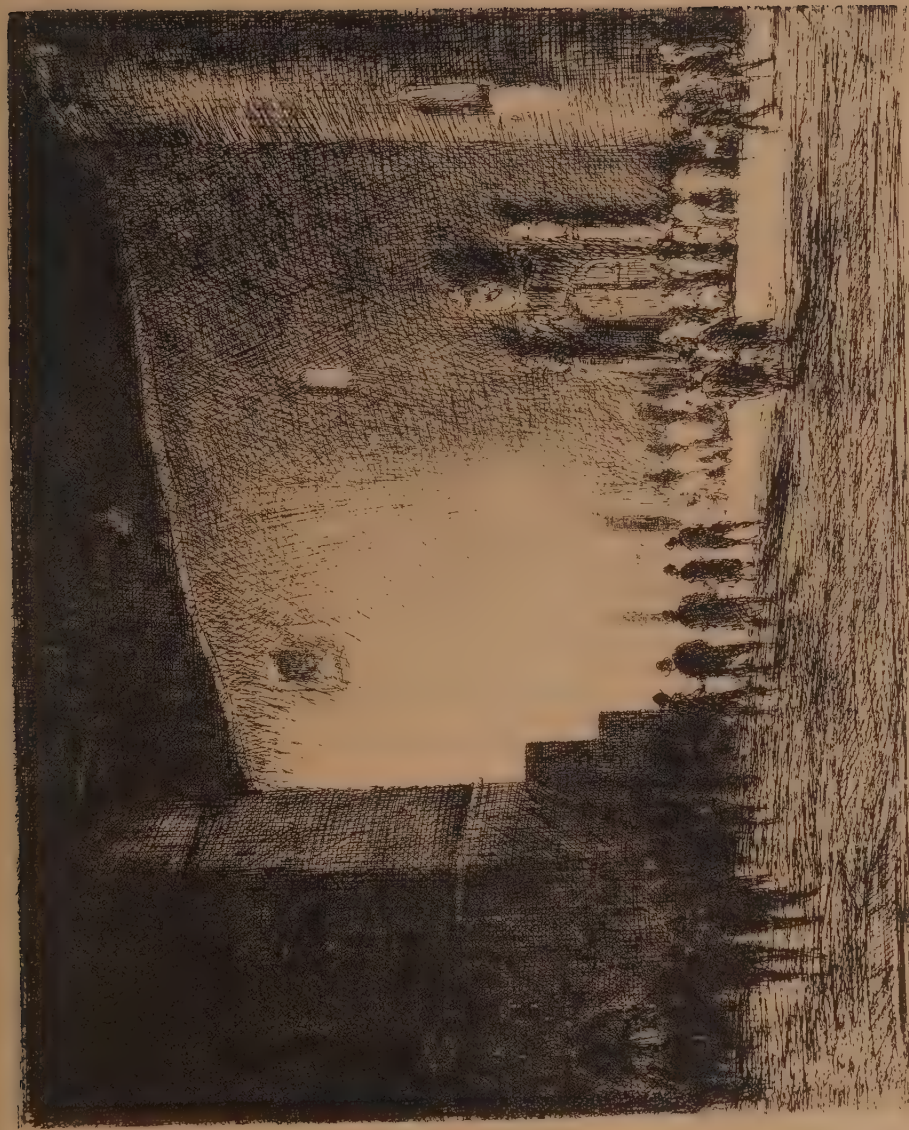


LXXVI
CYPRESS GROVE, MONTEREY
Ralph M. Pearson

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LXXVII
MAN FROM ARRAYO HONDO
B. J. O. Nordfeldt



LXXVIII
SOIR DE FÊTE, ITALIE
Herman A. Webster



LXXIX
LE CIEL PLUVIEUX, SOILLY, MARNE
Lester G. Hornby



LXXX
AWAITING THE BOAT'S RETURN
George O. ("Pop") Hart



LXXXI
SHIMMERING LIGHT
Cadwallader Washburn



LXXXII
LA FILLE DU MARBRIER
A. W. Heintzelman



LXXXIII
THE PATRONESS
Peggy Bacon

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LXXXIV
EASTERLY COMING
Charles H. Woodbury

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